THE ARCHITECTURAL AND ICONOGRAPHIC IDENTITY
OF PALIOCHORA ON AEGINA

An Introduction to Its Late and Post Byzantine Churches

A Thesis Submitted to the University of Manchester for the
Degree of PhD in the Faculty of Humanities

2012

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ABSTRACT

PhD
Ermioni Karachaliou
The Architectural and Iconographic Identity of Paliochora on Aegina: An Introduction to Its Late and Post Byzantine Churches
2010

How can we approach the surviving evidence on Paliochora in order for it to become a site of cultural consciousness in a wider medieval context? Its architectural and iconographic identity is hidden in its thirty-four Late and Post Byzantine churches. This thesis constitutes the first complete interdisciplinary approach to this settlement accompanied by a detailed appendix in the second volume. The two parts of this study examine Paliochora through different perspectives which reveal different aspects of its character. Urban planning and individual architectural specificities are examined through the prism of four construction periods associated with political and economic factors. Structural variety and multiplicity raises questions concerning religious functions. The iconography, on the other hand, relies on the general Late Byzantine canons and influences, but demonstrates provincial tendencies and promotes a distinct style of fresco painting. Furthermore, the possible interference of the continuous Western presence creates new aspects for conceptual discussion in both fields.

Consequently the three parameters of this comparative approach are underlined, either on an architectural or iconographic level:

- Between the different examples in Paliochora
- Within the vast array of Greek and Mediterranean ecclesiastical examples
- In contrast to Western practices and models

Throughout the text problems of archaeological evidence and archival information are raised. However, this first effort to place and contextualise Paliochora on the map of existing late medieval cities of the Mediterranean is a call for further research in multiple disciplines. It is a survey which will be used as the basic material for any future actions related both to academic knowledge and restoration processes.
Declaration

No portion of the work referred to in this thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university or other institute of learning.

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Acknowledgements

I am deeply thankful to Professor Emeritus Georgios Leon Prokopiou who gave the initial impetus to this project and trusted me with all the primary material, notes and photographs collected by his father, Angelos Prokopiou. He was the person that urged me to pursue my PhD in the UK and made it all possible. Also I would like to thank the Second Department of Antiquities of the Hellenic Ministry of Culture which permitted this research, the *Elliniki Etaireia* that provided me with all the reports from their restoration in Paliochora, and the Architectural School of Athens (Department of Design and Theory) which generously offered unlimited access to all the official plans of the churches.

Furthermore, I am grateful to my friends Khaled Roshdy and Georgios Petridis whose IT skills proved crucial for my work during my studies. Needless to say how much I appreciated my supervisors’ work, Dr. Emma Loosley and Dr. David O’Connor, who guided me with wisdom and patience through this long period of three years. Their help and knowledge was invaluable.

Finally, I would like to thank my parents, Andreas and Maria Karachaliou, for all their support throughout my studies and my boyfriend Bruno Vlahogiannis who stood by me in all joyful and stressful moments of this academic journey.
INTRODUCTION

The aims of this study

In the aftermath of the Fourth Crusade in 1204 numerous provincial Late Byzantine cities were constructed in various regions on the Greek mainland and in the Aegean Sea. Theoretically the Late Byzantine period starts in 1204 and finishes with the fall of Constantinople in 1453. However, it cannot be argued that Byzantine art and architecture stopped immediately. These cities developed under the influence of both Greek and Latin forces and produced architecture and art with a local identity. The case study for this research is the city of Paliochora on the island of Aegina, southwest of Athens. Today Paliochora is a protected archaeological site, mostly ruined, with thirty-four Late and Post Byzantine churches, which are the subject of this work.

The study is divided into two parts. The first part involves all matters related to the architectural side of the analysis, covering issues of urban structure, organisation of church plans, patterns of architectural specificities, and their function. The second part discusses the available iconographic material in the form of frescoes in the churches, found as fragments or in full cycles. Both aspects of the thesis have been approached primarily through fieldwork. The results of this are presented in the appendix included as a separate volume. The photographs which illustrate the appendix are used as a reference point to show the condition of the churches between August 2007 and April 2010, when the fieldwork was conducted and the images were taken. The catalogue of the churches is intended as a comparison with Moutsopoulos’ work of 1962 and Prokopiou’s articles in 1961 which were published as a volume in 1998.¹ All the church floor plans that are presented in the appendix

belong to the official files kept in the Architectural School of Athens and are provided with permission from the Hellenic Ministry of Culture.

The above mentioned sources are the only comprehensive bibliographical support on the churches of Paliochora. Moutsopoulos presents a historical analysis and an architectural description of each one of the thirty-four churches; however his catalogue does not include any comparative material. The second part of his monograph examines separate architectural features such as the masonry, the vaulting and the orientation and presents a typological review of the floor plans and their evolution through centuries of Byzantine architecture, but does not specifically refer to Paliochora. Therefore, his monograph does not present a clear image of the development of the settlement under discussion. Prokopiou, on the other hand, studied the iconography of some churches during the teaching of a course of Art History in the Architectural School of the National Technical University in Athens. His conclusions were originally published in a series of articles in the newspaper 

KAΘΗΜΕΡΙΝΗ.2 His study involved issues of subject matter, style, influences, patterns and themes, but it was never completed as a monograph to include all remaining frescoes.

Apart from these main sources, some smaller volumes and articles have been published. Pennas offered a small catalogue on Byzantine Aegina, devoting only a few pages to Paliochora.3 Koulikouri produced a guide to the monuments of Aegina; however, the date of this work is roughly around 1950.4 In December 2000 the local journal AEGINA published a special issue on Paliochora with contributions from Greek art historians and architects.5 Each author focused on a different theme.

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4 Μ. Κουλικουρδή, Αίγινα: Οδηγός για την Ιστορία και τα Μνημεία της, Aegina, c. 1950.
5 Μ. Εμμανουήλ, 'Η Παλιοχώρα της Αϊγίνας', L Bournias, 'Η Αγιογράφηση του Καθολικού της Μονής της Αγίας Κυριακής στην Παλιοχώρα της Αϊγίνας', A Giannouli, 'Η Ξυλογλυπτική στην Αϊγίνα το 18ο και 19ο Αιώνα και η Μεσαιωνική Περίοδος μέσα από τα Χαράγματα και τις Τοιχογραφίες των Εκκλησιών-
such as the history of the island, the iconography of individual churches, the inscriptions, and the restoration process in progress. In 2008 the archaeologist Irene Klimopoulou conducted research in Paliochora with the ultimate aim of suggesting methods of restoration and cultural exploitation.³ Last but not least, the monograph of Gitakos is a valuable asset, as it is the only monograph referring to primary written sources discovered in Paliochora, mainly carvings and inscriptions.⁴ There are no written records available for the settlement apart from lists of sovereigns and Archbishops provided by scholars such as Setton, Hussey and Nicol.⁵ The original archives related to the period of the Venetian conquest, cataloguing lists of conquerors, administration procedures regarding taxes, trade and religious authority are kept in Venice. The vast dataset of the architectural and iconographical survey of Paliochora did not leave enough space within the confines of the thesis to fully contextualise the site within the wider Mediterranean setting in matters of administration and commerce. More material from the Venetian archives could be added in the future, but the tight word limit of a PhD thesis did not allow me the scope to discuss these matters without leaving out any crucial material relating to the monuments themselves.

The list of short publications or articles may seem relatively long; however, the content of these works has a literary character which always discusses the same subjects as in the original publications. Since the monograph of Moutsopoulos and

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³ I Klimopoulou, Η Παλαιοχώρα της Αίγινας: Η Προσπάθεια για τη Διάσωση της Παλαιοχώρας, Διαφάνεια, Αθήνα, 2008.
⁵ CM Gitakos, Ανέκδοτα Επηργασιών και Χαράγματα εκ Βυζαντινών και Μεταβυζαντινών Μνημείων της Ελλάδος, Athens, 1957.
the articles of Prokopiou, no original research has been offered at an academic level.

The writings of non-Greek scholars include references to Paliochora related to the historical events that influenced its evolution and descriptions of the landscape in the monographs of researchers who travelled across the Mediterranean collecting information on different regions, specialising in folklore. Miller’s monograph refers to the Frankish conquest of Greece and provides information on historical dates and names, retrieved from several primary sources. Finlay’s monograph belongs to the same category focusing on the conquerors of Greece. By contrast, Chandler, Lancaster, and Thevet describe their findings as travellers in the wider area of the Mediterranean including the island of Aegina. Their observations include geological findings, demographic records, and climate statistics which are essential for understanding the general character of the medieval city.

The contribution of the present work to academic knowledge is to introduce a complete architectural and art historical comparative analysis of the Late and Post Byzantine city of Paliochora; this research has not been undertaken before. The structure of this interdisciplinary study moves from the general image of the city and its city planning, to the individual unit and its characteristics. Up until now the churches have been treated as individual cases or as groupings by floor plan. In this thesis the churches are separated for the first time, according to four construction periods which leads to the identification of certain architectural or iconographic patterns related to different conquerors in each chronological period.

12 More details on the rationale of this division are given in the subchapter ‘Placing Aegina in a Historical Context’.
The goal of this study is to place the forgotten city of Paliochora within the Late and Post Byzantine spectrum in order to supply primary data and an initial analysis for further academic research; firstly in comparison with other parts of Byzantine Aegina and secondly with the numerous provincial settlements in the Greek peninsula and generally the Mediterranean. Paliochora is a missing part of our contemporary bibliography dealing with Late and Post Byzantine issues and this is a gap this thesis aims to cover.

**The name of the medieval capital of Aegina**

Originally, the island and its capital shared the same name; Aegina. This name had its origins in Greek mythology where Aegina was a nymph. According to the myth, Zeus, in the guise of an eagle, kidnapped Aegina and hid her on the inhabited island of Oinoni to avoid Hera’s rage. The nymph gave her name to the island, which is used until the time of this research.\(^{13}\) From the fourteenth century onwards the name Aegina is encountered in the Venetian archives, recorded by Hopf, in variations such as Egne, Eguena, Eghenae, Engia, Legena, Leguena, Ligenae, and Ligena.\(^{14}\) However, after the eighteenth century, the final abandonment of the settlement and the return to the coast, the medieval city changed its name. It started to be called *Palaia Chora* which means Old City in Greek. Gradually, with the evolution of the local dialect, it became Paliachora or Paliochora for reasons of brevity. Today both names are used. In this work I chose to use the name Paliochora, which is also used academically for relevant medieval cities in Greece.\(^{15}\)

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Placing Paliochora in a historical context

The parameters set for this thesis demand that the historical contextualisation of Paliochora serves the purpose of identifying the conquerors and establishing their period of dominance. This then becomes a criterion for the periodisation of the ecclesiastical construction of the settlement. However, references to changes of ownership from the thirteenth to the end of the seventeenth centuries do not attempt to produce an analysis of political coalitions or disputes, but only to establish the setting within which the ecclesiastical art and architecture of Paliochora flourished.

The Byzantine history of the city, which is the main focus of this thesis, started in the ninth century. Before that point the capital of the island was Aegina, founded on the coast next to the main port. Pirates coerced the citizens to abandon their lands and move to the hinterland, an action observed in other Greek islands.\(^\text{16}\) The strategic position of the island, as the only passage to Athens, made it appealing to invaders (Fig. 1). The transference of the capital is dated to 896 according to a mourning poem referring to the destruction of Ligourio by the Saracens which was published by Gabriel Destounis and studied by Demetrios Kambouroglou.\(^\text{17}\) However, this sequence of events is not confirmed by the archaeological evidence, which suggests that Paliochora was inhabited before 896.\(^\text{18}\) The period from the ninth to the twelfth century is obscure due to continuous pirate invasions by Arabs, Saracens and Berbers. According to the letters of the Bishop of Athens, Michael Chroniatis (1182-1204), many Aeginians were killed or sold as slaves to the East while Aegina became the headquarters of the Saracens.\(^\text{19}\)

\(^{16}\) Ince, Paliochora, p. 97.
\(^{17}\) D Kambouroglou, Ἀπαντα τα Έργα-Α: Ἡ Ἀλώσις τῶν Αθηνῶν ὑπὸ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν, Athens, 1934.
\(^{18}\) Prokopiou, Ἐστίες, p. 167.
\(^{19}\) Information is mentioned in Emmanouil, Ἡ Παλιοχώρα τῆς Αἰγίνας’, p. 33.
The settlement as it stands today started developing after the thirteenth century. In 1204 the island of Aegina was awarded to the Venetians, along with three-eighths of Constantinople, Morea, Negroponte, Epirus, Acarnania, Aetolia and many other islands of the Aegean, according to the treaty of Partitio Romanae which divided the Byzantine Empire amongst the Crusaders. Nevertheless, only a year later Aegina was added to the Duchy of Karystos under the ruling of the Franks. The use of the term ‘Franks’, which is present in all sources analysing Aegina’s historical past, is problematic because of its clear association with the Crusades and the Holy Land. In the case of Aegina it underlines its western core, but does not give a specific identity to the conquerors. In this first period when Aegina belonged to the Duchy of Karystos, the historical sources refer to a Frankish conquest without pointing out a definite origin for the conquerors. However, there are two factors which aid their identification. First, the Venetians and the Catalans are excluded, as they are clearly demarcated in the following centuries and second, the names of the Dukes, which were Othon de la Roche, until 1225, Guillaume de Villeardhuin, until 1275, indicate a French origin, specifically from Burgundy. Miller describes that in 1225 Othon de la Roche returned back to his land in Burgundy and left his nephew ‘Guy’ as Duke. The rivalry between the French dukes and the Venetians ended in 1262 with the French keeping the administration of Euboia and Aegina and the Venetians holding an economic monopoly. In the period 1290-96 the sovereign of Aegina, known as the Castel Rosso, was Othon de Cicon whose daughter married Boniface de Verona in 1296 and received Aegina as a nuptial present. Until the year 1313, Aegina was under the authority of Boniface de Verona who was announced as ‘Ser Bonifacius de Verona dominator Caristi et Gardichie, Selijirij et Egne’.
From the beginning of the fourteenth century the Catalan Company, a group of mercenaries under Roger the Flor, hired by the Emperor Andronicos (1282-1328) in order to fight the Ottoman Turks, made its appearance in the Mediterranean.\textsuperscript{25} They succeeded in winning territories from the Ottoman Turks and the French dukes, but their power could not be handled by the Byzantines and finally they started attacking in all directions; they ruined the Byzantine economy and devalued the currency.\textsuperscript{26} The final act of the French was the battle in Lake Copais or Halmyros on 15 March 1311.\textsuperscript{27} The Catalans divided amongst themselves the lands of the feudal nobility. Alfonso Fadrigo, the new leader after the death of Roger de Flor, married the daughter of Boniface de Verona, Marulla, and became Lord of Aegina.\textsuperscript{28} The year 1313 marks the first change of conquerors; Aegina fell under Catalan hegemony.

The island belonged to the Fadrigo family until 1394, when it passed to the Caopena family. Aegina was offered again as a nuptial present for the marriage of Antonello Caopena to a Fadrigo princess.\textsuperscript{29} The Caopena family was the last Catalan family on the island and was present until 1451. A few years earlier, in 1425, the son of Antonello Caopena requested Venetian help to strengthen his position against the Ottoman invasions. The deal between the two Latin sides was that Aegina should supply all Venetian cities in Greece with wheat and, most important, that Aegina would become a Venetian acquisition after the death of the last Caopena; a situation that occurred in 1451 as Antonello II remained childless.\textsuperscript{30} This agreement constitutes proof for the agricultural production of the island. While it is contradictory to the arid character of the island, this agreement itself proves that the production of wheat was sufficient to sustain Aegina and export to other

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{26} Nicol, \textit{Byzantium}, p. 224.
\item \textsuperscript{27} Prokapiou, \textit{Eini}, p. 178.
\item \textsuperscript{28} List of lords of Aegina in the period of Catalan Dominion in Setton, p. 110.
\item \textsuperscript{30} F HertzberWhileg, \textit{Geschichte Griechenlands-Vol. II}, Gotha, 1879, p. 518.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
cities. Geographical analysis of Aegina provides evidence that in the northern and western parts, although they consist of stony plains, the ground is suitable for the cultivation of wheat. Wheat supports dryness but not extensive periods of moisture.

The first Venetian conquest lasted from 1451 until 1540. The commanders were called rettores and were under the administrative centre of Nafplion. The first rector was Luigi di Nicolo Morozini. However, the situation deteriorated after 1463, starting a long period of battles between the Ottoman Turks and the Venetians who maintained their presence intermittently on Aegina until 1715.

The first Ottoman attack on Paliochora occurred in 1502 led by the admiral Kemal Reis, who burnt and destroyed the city. This attack was a reprisal for the Venetian invasion of Megara. However, the ultimate destruction came in 1537 with the invasion of Chareyddin Barbarossa. This invasion was the result of the failure of the Ottoman navy to conquer the Venetian headquarters in Corfu. Sathas refers to six thousand women and children slaves.

Only three years after the invasion, Venice was forced to give Aegina to the Ottomans. In 1540 a new era started for Paliochora, a new reconstruction under the Ottomans. André Thevet visited Paliochora in 1555 and observed the rebuilding of the city. However, the pirate invasions did not stop causing economic problems. The economy was mainly based on the agricultural production of cotton,

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32 Μεγάλη Ελληνική Εγκυκλοπαίδεια-Τόμος ΚΑ, p. 880.
33 Rettore means rector, Moutsopoulos, Παλαιώρα, p. 20.
35 ΚΝ Sathas, Νημεία Ελληνικής Ιστορίας-Θ, Paris, 1880-90, p. 199. This information is found only in this book without any reference to primary sources.
36 Thevet, Levant, pp. 35-37.
wheat, honey, nuts, olives, figs and grapes, but trade in the Mediterranean was an established business between the Venetians and the Saracens.\(^{37}\)

In 1654 Aegina was tested again, when Venice ordered admiral Morozini to clear the Mediterranean of pirates. Wheler who visited the island in 1676 counted sixty houses and five wells in the castle.\(^{38}\) In 1687 Morozini conquered Aegina, which passed through a second phase of Venetian domination. In this second phase his primary concern was to restore the port and fortress.\(^{39}\) In the beginning of the seventeenth century the island experienced a period of prosperity, with established naval communication and exports of wheat, cotton, wax, honey, and almonds.\(^{40}\) The wars between the Venetian and the Ottomans never stopped and finally, in 1715 Aegina fell for the last time into Ottoman hands. That was the end of Paliochora, as the citizens chose to settle again in the former coastal region and form a new capital which still exists today. Evliya Çelebi, a traveller born in 1611 who journeyed through the territory of the Ottoman Empire, refers to the existence of five hundred houses, of which almost a hundred were inhabited by Ottomans.\(^{41}\) Richard Chandler, who visited Paliochora in 1765, counted four hundred households and found remains from the fortifications built in 1654 by the Venetians.\(^{42}\)

It is obvious that the history of Paliochora was turbulent and that this had a severe impact on the development of the city. Each of the conquerors employed different tactics and have been judged according to their efficiency by historians. The Catalan expedition to the East was characterised by Finlay as ‘an excellent example of success after a cruel invasion’.\(^{43}\) On the other hand the Venetians built a ‘colonial

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\(^{37}\) Klimopoulou, Παλιοχώρα, p. 21 and Hodgson, Venice, p. 211.

\(^{38}\) G Wheler, Voyage d’Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant, fait aux années 1675-1676, Amsterdam, 1676, p. 205.

\(^{39}\) Chandler, Travels, p. 20.


\(^{41}\) K Biris, Η Αττική του Ελλήνα Ταξιαρχή, Athens, 1959, p. 68.

\(^{42}\) Chandler, Travels, p. 20.

\(^{43}\) Finlay, History of Greece, p. 147.
Empire in the East⁴⁴ according to Ostrogorsky, and took possession of large monasteries and ecclesiastical treasures and made commercial coalitions with the pirates and the Turks. Despite that, they offered fortification to the islands and created castles where they gathered administrative facilities, storehouses and military functions.⁴⁵ From a general point of view the Greeks and Latins grew accustomed to each other after 1204. The Latins came under influence of the natural and human environment and began to be assimilated into the Greek culture, while the Greeks began to participate in their economic and social structures.⁴⁶

This reference to the history of Aegina would normally be outside the main lines of this thesis, which incorporates subjects of architecture and iconography. However, this research aims to form an interdisciplinary account of Paliochora and examine its artistic production in relation to the political circumstances of each period in order to study if these changes had an impact on the production of ecclesiastical art. As was mentioned in the beginning, Moutsopoulos’ monograph provided a detailed catalogue of every church independently and recorded the development of separate architectural features through the whole period of the Middle and Late Byzantine periods in the entire region of Greece. This research intends to focus only on the development observed in this particular settlement, from the beginning of the thirteenth century. The history of Aegina is clearly separated into periods according to the alteration of conquerors. The first period extends from 1204 until 1313, when the French conquerors lost Aegina to the Catalans who dominated the second period until 1451. The situation during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is more complicated as there was an alteration of power between the Venetians and the Ottomans. The first Venetian occupation extended until 1540 when the Ottomans took over until 1654. In 1654 the Venetians returned for their

final act on Aegina until 1715. For the purposes of this research, I decided to separate their first from their second conquest and group the churches into two separate periods under the ruling of different lords in order to identify whether the politics of the Venetians followed a unified line towards Paliochora or the status quo changed according to the administrators between their first and second ruling.

The proposed periodisation adds a more profound understanding to our knowledge of how city planning developed throughout different periods under the restrictions or benefits provided by each conqueror and the way the construction of churches changed. Finally, it provides primary records of the remaining iconographic programmes and questions if the different Latin conquerors imposed western iconographic prototypes and themes or influenced the organization of internal decoration.

Before proceeding to the main corpus of the thesis and examination of the settlement during the four construction periods, it is necessary to identify the reasons why the Aeginians chose the region of Paliochora as a suitable place for the foundation of their new capital. On one hand, the capital was transferred to ensure protection from piracy and invasions, but on the other hand the choice of place, its geomorphology, and natural elements such as water, the existence of a valley and quarry stones, influenced its development and its final structure and character. The natural conditions played a vital role in the way that the city developed and are clearly seen on the architectural results.  

Reasons for the topographical choice of the new capital

The primary reason for the topographical choice of the new capital of Aegina in the ninth century was its geographical advantages based on defense criteria. However,  

47 This point will be clearly presented in the next chapter.
generally this was not the sole decisive factor for the establishment of a city in the new location. More specifically, there are four important reasons for the choice of the hill of Paliochora; its defense structure, the existence of water, its soil, and the religious past.

The area of Paliochora lies between the former capital of Aegina, close to the main port, and the ancient temple of Aphaia Athena, in the north part of the island (Fig. 2). It forms a hill 355 m above sea level, which is an excellent natural fortress (Fig. 3). It is hidden from the coast on three sides. The only possibility to observe and reach the hill is from the north side, but people left this area abandoned and uninhabited in order to confuse possible invaders. The region is unreachable and dangerous with rough precipices. Furthermore, the location offered protection to the city from severe weather conditions, such as strong winds, that could not pass beyond the mountains; a problem characteristic of all the islands in the Aegean. Therefore the climate was characterised as mild but arid.

The arid character of the island was a supplementary reason that drove the Aeginians to Paliochora. The existence of water under the subsoil of the hill is regarded as a vital factor in the foundation of the city. The island is not considered extremely fertile; it adopts the characteristics of the islands of the Argosaronic Sea and the islands of the Cyclades: a dry landscape with little plantation. A fountain with clear water, believed to possess healing powers was discovered in the area and solved one of the primary needs of human survival. The well was known from ancient times and was considered a divine gift. The water was believed to have a healing nature due to the volcanic character of the underground and even today there is a thermal spa in the north of the island, at the port of Souvala, suitable for healing gynaecological and dermatological diseases. The good quality of water was

49 MV Coronelli, Description géographique et historique de la Morée reconquise par les Vénitiens, du royaume de Négrepont et d’autres lieux circovoisins, Paris, 1687, p. 80.
50 Koulikourdi, Αἴγηλα Ι, p. 30.
51 Prokopiou, Εστίες, p. 170.
also mentioned by Chandler; he described two wells, one next to the church of Aghios Charalampos and one in the area of the castle.\(^{52}\) In the Late Byzantine phase, and more specifically during the fourteenth century, the church of the Virgin Mary was constructed on the exact place of the sacred fountain.\(^{53}\) It became the Cathedral of Paliochora, underlining the significance of the spot. It was the centre around which the whole city was established.

In addition, the underlying geology played a vital role in the choice of location providing a rich amalgamation of rocks found nowhere else in the Argosaronic Sea. This mixture is the result of an ancient volcanic explosion. Geological findings testify that Aegina was at the centre of a zone of volcanoes which included Corinth, Methana, Poros, Milos and Thira.\(^{54}\) The explosion of the volcano (c. 2,000,000 BC) changed the status quo and united parts of the islands with the lava it produced. The transformation to one compound island was completed through the phenomenon of the humification of mountains.\(^{55}\) Reiss and Strübel identified the structural materials as dakite and andesite; used almost exclusively in the construction of the churches in Paliochora.\(^{56}\) The vast array and good quality of construction materials available became a useful tool for the Aeginians in constructing the new city. In addition, the existence of usable local building materials was significant as the import of materials from other areas of the Byzantine Empire was extremely risky, due to the dominance of pirates. The rocks created by the volcanic explosion became the hallmark of local architecture.

Last but not least, Paliochora offered a long established spiritual atmosphere. The discovery of large quantities of marble in the Byzantine churches and spolia attached to the masonry indicates the existence of ancient temples in the area, as

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\(^{52}\) Chandler, *Travels*, p. 20.

\(^{53}\) During the seventeenth century it was dedicated to Aghios Dionysios, after his canonisation. The inscription of 1610 mentions that the iconography was finished in the ‘Church of the Theotokos and Virgin Mary’.

\(^{54}\) Moutsopoulos, *Παλιοχώρα*, p. 35.

\(^{55}\) G Livaditis, Υποδομευτικά και Γεωμορφολογικά Παραπτηρώσεις επί της Νήσου Αιγίνης, Athens, 1974, p. 55.

the island does not produce marble. Pausanias (second century) in his work *Periigisis* remarks that the island was a pilgrimage destination from ancient times. Consequently, it was a place with an established religious history that would satisfy the usual practice of constructing new churches in places with former religious activities.

The natural formation of the peninsula played an important role in the formation of the city. The concentration of life on the acropolis left the valley of Messagros free for cultivation at a time when agriculture was the main source of economic prosperity (Fig. 4). The castle on the top of the hill and the concentration of conquerors and administrative activities inside its walls. The remains of houses and the existing churches show that the slopes of the hill received the majority of population. The agricultural lands, which existed on the bottom of the hill, were distributed to the Latin conquerors, as happened in the majority of Latin acquisitions, but the cultivators remained the locals with different obligations under the new regime. The locals built their houses on the lower parts of the hill, closer to the valley of Messagros and the fields. The same strategy was frequently observed in Latin dominated cities such as the example of Herakleion on Crete where the Venetians pushed the Greek inhabitants outside the walls of the city, to more rural parts and on Kythera were all cultivating surfaces were gathered on the slopes of the hill. Gratziou also comments that certain Venetian lords built small dwellings in the countryside of Herakleion in order to supervise the local workers. Therefore, the hill of Paliochora and its surroundings did not only offer natural protection and raw materials for survival, but also a clear distinction of activities in the urban fabric.

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Problems and Methodologies

The settlement of Paliochora remained unpublished until the 1960s, when research was initiated by Nikolaos Moutsopoulos followed by Angelos Prokopiou. The bulk of the literature which examines the settlement from different perspectives was written around this period, producing data relying on a single discipline. A first impetus was given in 1957, when Gitakos conducted archaeological research based on palaeography in the Greek region including the island of Aegina. He succeeded in cataloguing inscriptions which commemorate important historical events, patrons or rulers of Paliochora. These inscriptions are the only accurate primary source, as no other records have survived. It is probable that the archives in Venice could offer more details on families and their status during the sixteenth and seventeenth century, but this perspective is not included in the parameters of this thesis and could be a theme for further research. In 1962 Moutsopoulos catalogued the architectural characteristics of the thirty-four surviving Late and Post Byzantine churches and finally, Angelos Prokopiou embarked his research on the iconographic programmes of the churches in 1961. The problem with this research is that it was never finished or updated. In the 1960s there was a general reluctance to overcome traditional boundaries between disciplines and attempt to produce interdisciplinary research which would present a complete image of the city and offer it a place in the group of provincial Late Byzantine cities of the Mediterranean.

Following a period of forty years in which no scholarly research was undertaken, there has been a revival of interest in the area the past decade. Articles on Paliochora have been published in local or national journals. However these

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62 Gitakos, Επιγραφές, 1957.
63 Moutsopoulos, Παλαιασάχωρα, pp. 59-172.
64 Moutsopoulos in his introduction underlined the need for a future research of the frescoes in the Late and Post Byzantine churches. Moutsopoulos, Παλαιασάχωρα, p. 10, Prokopiou, Εστίες, pp 164-200.
65 For further details see pp. 11-12.
articles, apart from referencing the actual state of Paliochora, add little to existing knowledge. They simply re-examine the settlement, its urban design, its architecture and its frescoes from the same perspective as in the 1960s, each one through the prism of a single discipline. An important step forward was accomplished in 1993 when *Elliniki Etaireia* decided to include Paliochora in its restoration programmes. The Department of Conservation of Antiquities became involved along with architects and archaeologists and at the time of writing five churches have been restored so far; Aghios Georgios Katholikos, Aghia Kyriaki and Zoodochos Pege, Aghia Anna, Aghios Dionysios the Cathedral, and Aghios Ioannis Theologos.

Now that Paliochora has come once again into the foreground it is a suitable time to embark on an interdisciplinary study. Issues of neglect affect the monuments of Paliochora, albeit in different ways. Problems which involve the buildings and general structures of the city focus on the existence of extensive humidity, wear of mortar, lack of engineering reinforcement, need for re-establishing the area of the castle, bad quality conservation is some cases and aesthetic and morphologic additions which denature the original character of the city. There is lack of information plates along the main roads of the settlement and sufficient lighting to facilitate movement around the day. However, there is reluctance to clean the large amount of vegetation, which destroys the circulatory system and makes movement difficult and risky. The original paths of the city are gradually disappearing, hiding the urban design. Another problem is linked to the dating of the churches. Archaeologists in the past have identified a rough construction date for all churches, but some times there are contradictory elements. The problem of humidity is severe and has destroyed so many frescoes since Prokopiou carried out his survey that is unlikely that the frescoes will be in a condition to be studied in a

66 The Hellenic Society for the Protection of the Environment and Cultural Heritage was founded in 1972. It is a registered non-profit organisation.
few years time. The result came out after comparing the current state of the frescoes and that coming from the slides of the personal archive of Angelos Prokopiou given to me by his son, Professor Georgios Prokopiou. Lime layers cover parts of the iconographic programmes, while others have been over-restored by amateurs destroying the original works. Interviews with local people showed that the administration of the island does not protect the site properly. Schools are brought occasionally for fieldtrips, playing around the monuments and destroying part of the cultural heritage. However, the locals claim that this behaviour is the fault of governmental institutions which do not protect it properly. All these are current problems for this research.

The gap in Greek historiography concerning Paliochora has led to indifference. It is a virtually unknown archaeological site scarcely mentioned in list of the provincial Late Byzantine cities of the Aegean Sea. As a result, international academic ignorance is only to be expected. This work aims to raise awareness in order to place Aegina on the agenda of further scholarly research. The lack of primary sources ensures that only tentative conclusions can be made regarding various architectural or iconographic subjects. The analysis of the various phases of urban design and architectural innovation in association with political and economic enquiries creates a new basis for the understanding of Paliochora as a whole, and not as individual cases studies of Late and Post Byzantine churches. In addition, the majority of the frescoes are presented for the first time to the academic community enriching the wealth of existing religious images. Through the cataloguing of frescoes according to themes, this work provides an immediate comparison, both between the remaining local frescoes and the Late and Post Byzantine frescoes of the Mediterranean. This thesis is the first interdisciplinary approach to the settlement, aiming to raise issues for more consistent research in the future.
PART A - ARCHITECTURE

The evolution from Middle to Late Byzantine Ecclesiastical Architecture

Architecture, regardless of the period, is influenced by geopolitical, economic, and social conditions. Byzantine buildings were always the result of many transformations, influences and adaptations.¹ Over the centuries their image evolved by adding new architectural parts, finding structural solutions or adapting those already in existence.² No plan in the history of ecclesiastical Byzantine architecture was born without borrowing elements from its immediate ancestors. The vocabulary of the past was disassembled and its parts were reconsidered and regrouped.³ Consequently, in order to examine and appraise the architectural landscape of Paliochora under the new parameter of its four construction periods linked with the different conquerors, proposed for the first time in this study, it is necessary to follow a journey from the Middle Byzantine period to the late years of Byzantine history and observe the way that the appearance of churches was changing.

The architectural style of the Middle Byzantine period (843-1204) was full of symbols. The dominant type developed in the Greek peninsula, besides its technical name, cross-in-square domed church, is known as simply the ‘Greek type’. With its variations in multiple Greek cities such as Athens, Fokis, Thessaloniki, and Chios, it became the prototype for the construction of hundreds of churches across the Empire.⁴ This type epitomised the philosophical aspect of ecclesiastical architecture as all its elements were associated with fundamental Christian symbolism.

³ ibid., p. 17.
Ousterhout remarks that the symbolic function must be kept in mind as church buildings do not simply host rituals, but interact with them.⁵

One major problem with the research process and the understanding of Byzantine monuments is the lack of primary written sources regarding architectural methods. The only texts still extant refer to the symbolism of the building and usually praise the donor, but do not provide a critical view of the architectural schemes. Slight evidence is provided by mosaics or frescoes depicting the patrons holding models of churches, such as the mosaic of Constantine and Justinian holding the model of Constantinople and Aghia Sophia (Aghia Sophia, eleventh century).⁶ Evaluation of architecture can be conducted only by observing the buildings themselves, individually or in groups which belong in the same period. The same problem appears also during the Late and Post Byzantine period, becoming even more intense due to the geographical diversion which influenced architectural practices.

The available primary sources analyse the symbolism of the church, explaining why it acquired this specific form. Patriarch Germanus (715-730) lucidly described the church as ‘A heaven on earth where God dwells and walks. It typifies the Crucifixion, the Burial, the Resurrection’.⁷ The typical plan of Middle Byzantine churches incorporated three basic shapes, the circle, the cube, and the cross; heaven above and earth below, a rectangular box supervised by the almighty.⁸ Later on as architecture was becoming more complex, the cube was replaced by an octagon and the central unit was designed symmetrically.⁹ The domed cross-in-square type succeeded in creating a space intimate enough to awaken feelings of

piety, while at the same time its height, lighting, and iconography created an ambience of intimidation.

Hierarchy and respect for the theological canons were the principal rules in the erection of churches. From the external to the internal surfaces, materials, decorative motifs, mosaics, and frescoes, everything was organised following a hierarchy that evolved from the lower parts to the holiest heights. The correspondence between exterior articulation and the division of internal space was the key point of Middle Byzantine architecture. This was broken in the Late Byzantine period when this indissoluble relationship of exterior space with the interior was lost.

Furthermore, this obsession with symbolism and hierarchy weakened after the end of the Fourth Crusade in 1204. In Late Byzantine architecture, certain parts of the internal space, such as the sanctuary, the dome, when it existed, the apse, continued to fulfill their original symbolic purpose, but the overall rules became less strict. The reason why was mainly due to the transformation of the architectural type. The dominant domed cross-in-square church gave way to humbler types, with smaller dimensions and simpler structures. In the majority of cases the dome was forgotten and was replaced by vaults, curved or angled. The trend of the Late period was the revival of Hellenistic, humanistic types, which led to the return of the simplest type of basilica that was dominant in the first years of the Christian era.

12Krautheimer, Byzantine Architecture, p. 336.
Traditionally, Constantinople and the larger cities of the Empire, such as Thessaloniki, Mistras, Arta, were the centres of artistic production and the cynosure of the majority of workshops. The terms to categorise the different artistic styles, were primarily stated by Gabriel Millet in his monograph *L’école grecque dans l’architecture byzantine*. The terms aided the division of architecture according to certain styles, materials and structures followed in different parts of the Empire, such as the School of Constantinople, Athens, Northern Greece, Macedonia, and Asia Minor.

The Latin conquest of the capital in 1204 was the crucial point that led to decentralisation and the development of the provinces. Vryonis aptly presented the historical conditions which determined the motive for cultural evolution during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In his arguments he includes; the territorial dismemberment of the state and the corresponding subjection of large Byzantine populations to a foreign state; the high degree of political centralization within the Byzantine state and the absorption of Byzantine merchants and craftsmen into the economic system of Venice and Genoa. However, as Nicol explains, the Byzantines believed in supernatural interventions, had a close relationship with God and they needed to retain their faith intact by overcoming political and administrative obstacles.

Byzantine institutions were seen as granted by God and presided over by the Emperor. However, that came to an end with the establishment of the Latin Empire in Constantinople. Art and architecture developed in the countryside and changed their character from metropolitan to provincial. At this point there is a need to clarify the essence of the word ‘provincial’ since this thesis involves the

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analysis of a provincial settlement. Lymberopoulou in her monograph clarified the
difference between ‘provincial’ and ‘inferior’ and stated that it has to be regarded
only as a geographical distinction and not as of a lower status. In contrast to
Mouriki’s view that the rule in monumental painting is set in Constantinople and
Thessaloniki and consequently, the distant regions offer art of a lesser quality or
importance, Lymberopoulou states that the aesthetic point of view is directly
associated to taste and is subjective.\(^\text{18}\) The majority of examples during the Late
Byzantine period originates from various cities of the Greek mainland and offers
much evidence for a thorough understanding of cultural production.

The distance from the administrative centres led to a loss of financial support. All
projects that were previously financed by the Emperor and the state had to be
supported by donors, patrons and local communities. Inscriptions on churches
prove that their majority was built by private funding.\(^\text{19}\) As the budgets decreased
so did the complexity of the architecture and the richness of materials.\(^\text{20}\) The goal
was no longer to create vast construction programmes that would empower the role
of the Church and prove the authority of the Emperor, but simply the continuation
of devotional practice. Kalokyris supports the argument that the unstable economic
situation in several provincial territories led to the construction of small, simple
structures, such as small basilicas, and domed free-cross churches.\(^\text{21}\) Large scale
buildings were avoided in their majority according to a new aesthetic mode which
preferred subtlety and intimacy, and worship became more introverted.\(^\text{22}\) However,
we should also consider the simplification of Late Byzantine period as a matter of
taste. Many of the small churches built by local inhabitants were contemporary with
the famous example of the Chora Monastery in Constantinople (completed in 1321)

\(^\text{18}\) A Lymberopoulou, *The Church of the Archangel Michael at Kavalariana: Art and Society in the
\(^\text{19}\) O Gratziou, *Η Κρήτη στην Υγιήρη Μεσαιωνική Εποχή: Η Μαρτυρία της Εκκλησιαστικής Αρχιτεκτονικής*,
1994, p. 279.
\(^\text{22}\) Evans, *Glory of Byzantium*, p. 12.
founded by Theodore Metochites, a wealthy Byzantine statesman. The Chora Monastery follows a cosmopolitan, Constantinopolitan style and according to academics such as Cormack and Lymberopoulou it epitomises the Palaiaologian style and forms the basis for the assessment of art of the period. The whole construction reveals a series of carefully made decisions and an extensive budget, a fact which shows that in certain cases funds were available, even during the Late Byzantine period when the political situation was turbulent. However, the situation in more remote regions, such as Paliochora where the churches were built by local families, has to be evaluated under another perspective.

In the Middle Byzantine period there was only one dominant type of church, whereas in the late period there was surprising variety. For example Saint Sophia of Trebizond (1238-1263) is a domed basilica, Saint Theodoros of Brontochion (late thirteenth century) followed the Greek cross type, the Church of Evangelistria in Mistras (early fifteenth century) had, as a basic element of the floor plan, the Latin cross, and the basilica returned once more in numerous examples.

Apart from the general impression of the church, its plan, roof and dimensions, the image of Middle and Late Byzantine churches was different due to the usage of materials. Middle Byzantine churches were constructed both with local materials and some imported from the East or other parts of the Empire. The prominent materials were red brick and rubble. The external walls were refined and carefully processed. The most popular and famous system, observed in Hosios Loukas at Fokis and the Monastery of Daphni (eleventh century), was known as the cloisonné

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23 Cormack, Byzantine Art, p. 204, Lymberopoulou, Kavalariana, p. 184.
system. In between the courses of stones and the brick frames there could be broken tiles creating designs known as *Kufic*, creating more elaborate façades.

The scenery changed in the Late and Post Byzantine period when the elevations of the churches, especially in the provinces, became humbler. The majority of the buildings were constructed exclusively with the available local materials, which in addition were not always technically processed towards a more refined result. There was a change in the preferred materials which were extracted from local quarries and the usage of brick was reduced and replaced by stones. This process was the result of the new economic status quo but also expresses a change in taste observed during the Late Byzantine period, as there are still examples in Constantinople (Chora Monastery/1321) Mistras, Thessaloniki, and Arta that continue to promote the spirit of the previous era.

However, the external impression was of secondary importance. In the internal space of the church, both in the Middle and Late Byzantine periods, the general impression was more elaborate. Apart from the decorative part of the internal surfaces, which will be discussed in the second part of the thesis, the architectural organisation followed different rules between the two periods. During the first period emphasis was given to the central circular point that was created under the dome. The centrally planned edifice was ideally suited to the requirements of the liturgy because the performance of Mass occupied the centre both liturgically and architecturally. The multiple vaults that supported the weight and height of the building created a protected ambience under which the believer could participate in the heavenly hierarchy on the lowest step of the ladder.

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26 C Bouras, Βυζαντινή και Μεταβυζαντινή Αρχιτεκτονική στην Ελλάδα, Εκδοτικός Οίκος Μέλισσα, Athens, 2001, p. 98.
27 Ibid.
29 Bouras, Βυζαντινή Αρχιτεκτονική, pp. 191-200.
In contrast, provincial Late and Post Byzantine architecture followed a simpler motif. The re-appearance of the basilica type, which had been abandoned in the post-iconoclastic era, with one, three or five aisles reinforced the sacred, linear path starting from the west entrance and ending in the east with the holy sanctuary. The faithful had to walk this path from the dark side of sin to the light, while viewing scenes from the lives of Christ, the Virgin, the Apostles and the saints. This road gave the faithful the tools to proceed in life and was regarded as a holy canon. The height was diminished, so the vertical hierarchy was not so prominent.\(^{31}\)

Another parameter influencing the changes in Byzantine architecture was the builders themselves. In the Middle and Late Byzantine era the builders of Byzantine monuments throughout the Empire were anonymous. Anonymity is often confused with lack of skills, but in the case of Byzantium the establishment of anonymity was related to the theocentric system of Byzantium according to everybody is equal and only God knows the names.\(^{32}\) The term *mechanikos* from Justinian’s period ceased to exist. Its place was taken by the title *architekton*.\(^{33}\) The term appears for the first time in the tenth century *Book of Ceremonies*.\(^{34}\) More specifically the *Lexica Segueriana* defines the profession of *architekton* as the supervisor of construction, chief of builders, and the one who fashioned something with painstaking care.\(^{35}\)

In addition, the pyramid of building skills towards the lower levels of the hierarchy was more detailed during the Middle Byzantine period. Each person who was involved in the construction process possessed a particular title according to his capacities. As a result there were the *oikodomoi*, a term most commonly used for

\(^{34}\) Ousterhout, *Builders*, p. 44.
\(^{35}\) *Lexica Segueriana* was a building manual during the Middle Byzantine period, G Downey, ‘Byzantine Architects: Their Training and Methods’, *Byzantion*, no. 18, 1946, pp. 99-118, p. 110.
both master mason and skilled worker; the original Greek words were \textit{protomaistor} and \textit{maistor}. The \textit{technites} were the skilled workers or artisans and were accompanied by the \textit{ergates} who were simple, unskilled workers. Apart from the basic division into categories there were some specific services needed for the completion of a building, such as the stone worker who was called \textit{lithoxoos} and carpenters who were called \textit{tektons} or \textit{leptourgoi}.\textsuperscript{36}

However, in Late Byzantine provincial cities the system depended on the economic level of the region. Normally, each region had a group, a workshop of \textit{technites} that inherited knowledge from the older masons and tried to apply it according to the different conditions that occurred in every Greek countryside city.\textsuperscript{37} Procedures were simpler as everyone worked under the commands of the local church or local donors.\textsuperscript{38}

In the case of Paliochora no name has survived of the architects or master builders of the churches. Most of the churches were financed by local families and even in that case the number of names is restricted. Therefore, in the first part of the architectural analysis I will mostly use the terms \textit{oikodomoi}, \textit{technites} and \textit{ergates} which apply to the categories of skilled and unskilled masons. Moreover, there was another particularity which cannot be omitted. Since the presence of Latin and Ottoman conquerors was preeminent and continuous on the island until the eighteenth century the local masons were mixed with Latin workers, a fact that led to counterinfluences which are examined in the following chapter.

Returning to the opening sentence of the chapter, it is obvious that the sociological and economic changes between the Middle and Late Byzantine period led to the transformation of ecclesiastical architecture. Power was divided in the provinces,

\textsuperscript{36} Ousterhout, \textit{Builders}, pp. 3-5.
\textsuperscript{37} ibid., pp. 12, 50.
\textsuperscript{38} Cormack, \textit{Byzantine Art}, p. 145.
the funds were reduced, the materials had different origins, the *technites* acquired little or no training and the practice of faith itself followed different practices. Late Byzantine religious architecture displayed a new character; less strict and more flexible. The Late Byzantine cities followed the flow of cultural progress, but showed their own regional preferences and ought to be examined under different criteria. An example of such a city was Paliochora with its own architectural and artistic particularities. It developed during the Late and Post Byzantine period, absorbed tensions, but created an independent form.
CHAPTER I: The Four Construction Periods

The urban planning of Paliochora

The observation and discussion on the urban planning of Paliochora is the result of studying existing maps, the analysis presented by Moutsopoulos and Prokopiou and fieldwork conducted on the hill at different times of the year from summer 2007 to winter 2010. Existing academic research provided the basis for further inquiries and a more systematic analysis which follows new parameters. Apart from categorising the four important elements of this urban design, which are the paths, the churches, the squares and the castle, the innovative part of this thesis is the creation of new maps demonstrating building activity during the four construction periods according to the existing dating of churches. So far Paliochora has been studied only according to its final state and the analysis has been restricted to its remaining characteristics. This work examines the result progressively through the centuries in order to identify certain methods followed and why, or even if, the result is completely random. However, the lack of primary documentary sources must be taken into account with regard to the creation of the image of a city which no longer exists.

The planning of Paliochora is typical of the majority of provincial medieval cities in the mainland and on islands. On the top of the hill there is a castle and the city expands on the slopes, to the east, south and west of the castle, following the natural amphitheatre created by the landscape. The original lines of the urban fabric are still visible, creating two concentric perimeters with the castle as the theoretical centre. A

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path leading to these main roads begins from the Square of Timios Stavros on the west side.\(^3\) This point is the present day entrance to the site as well. The circulation is completed by the addition of smaller paths, commencing from the main arteries. These paths lead to smaller districts. The two categories of roads are differentiated by width, material and boundaries. The concentric perimeters are wider, covered with flat stones, include stairs to accommodate the height difference and with stone walls at each side to prevent landslip (Fig. 5). In contrast the paths do not have a firm structure; they are narrow, slippery, and they do not possess boundaries or stone covering (Fig. 6).\(^4\) The two perimeter roads and the system of paths were not created instantly, but were the gradual result of evolution over centuries as the process of construction continued. The architectural topography of the peninsula was created from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century. However, it is possible that churches which do not survive today did not belong to this chronological frame.

The four construction periods of Paliochora are associated as shown in the introductory chapter with the different conquerors of the island. During the first construction period (1205-1313), Paliochora was under the dominion of the French dukes, the second period is characterized by the Catalanic ownership (1313-1451), the third period covers the first Venetian ruling interrupted by the Ottoman invasions (1451-1540), and finally, the fourth period includes the second Venetian dominance until the final act in 1715, when the island fell to the Ottoman Turks. By taking into account the existing dating of the churches according to the archaeological research, the aim of this part of the thesis is to categorise them under these four periods of different conquests, reveal if certain architectural patterns were followed in each period and

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\(^3\) Timios Stavros means the Holy Cross in Greek.

\(^4\) Moutsopoulos, Ποληχώρα, p. 43. Due to the abandonment of the settlement by the Greek government, the tour of Paliochora is extremely dangerous as foliage covers the paths most of the year making them overgrown.
identify if those where anyhow related to the conquerors and their administrative system towards their lands.

Primarily, the analysis starts by examining the evolution of city planning. The new maps offer suggestions as to how the city expanded and make it easy to identify the preferences for districts, moving of population and social tendencies. Unfortunately, because of the complete destruction of dwellings, the only building element that aids in the understanding of the city planning is the churches.

During the thirteenth century under the dominion of the French dukes, seven churches were erected. The map shows that they were scattered on the lower levels of the hill and they began to formulate the external perimeter of the city (Fig. 7). The lack of evidence concerning secular buildings and houses reduces our knowledge on the architecture of the period. These churches are not referred to any of the available secondary sources as having a specific role in the ecclesiastical life of Paliochora except for serving as parish churches. A first conclusion arising is that daily life developed around them in these various districts. The social significance recognised here is that during this first period, the citizens did not build close to upper parts of the hill, a fact that most probably shows the creation of social zones according to the feudal system. The Byzantines were familiar with the system of pronoia which resembled the western fief, with only difference that in the Byzantine system the paroikoi did not owe any loyalty or service to the aristocrats and still the Emperor was the legal owner of the land. For the locals a transition from the eastern to the western system of dividing

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6 Prokopiou, *Εσπίπες*, p. 171.
land should have been relatively smooth as they have previously experienced a similar administrative system. Another observation is that during the first years of creating the new capital, local activities and structures such as squares were not clearly demarcated. A more urban character was gained during Catalan dominion with the appearance of the Cathedral, squares, and the commercial, social centre. The six churches constructed first were: the Panaghia of Giannoulis (double basilica), Taxiarchis Michael (domed free-cross), Archangel Michael, the Koimesis of the Theotokos, Aghia Ekaterini, the Koimesis of Aghia Anna, and Aghios Spyridon (single-aisled basilicas). Among this small number of churches, three of the five types encountered in the peninsula are already present indicating that the variety of plans was not part of an evolution but was a matter of choice.

In the second construction period, when the island was under Catalan occupation, a small number of churches were added to the primary nucleus. However, these churches formed a cohesive external perimeter. Apparently, the citizens continued to build on the lower levels, but also tried to protect the edges of the city (Fig. 8). During this period two of the most important churches were constructed; Aghios Georgios Katholikos (basilica with a transverse sanctuary) and Aghios Dionysios (basilica with a dome and a side aisle). The first became the social centre of the peninsula and the second the principal church. They were the closest attempt to reach the higher levels of the hill, so their status is linked to this prominence of position. The rest of the churches built during the fourteenth century are: Aghios Ioannis Prodromos (single-aisled basilica), Aghios Efthymios (double basilica), Aghios Nikolaos the North (basilica with a transverse sanctuary), and Aghios Ioannis Theologos (domed free-cross). Each church belongs to a different type, creating a microcosm of the complete image of Paliochora with its thirty-four churches. The basic difference regarding the conquerors

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8 The analysis of the floor plans in relation to their function is discussed in Chapter II, see pp. 93-130.
between the two first periods is that the French dukes were established in Athens while the Catalan families inhabited Paliochora and this was associated with the transference of administrative and religious authorities in Aegina, hence the need for a more firm urban fabric.\(^9\)

During the first Venetian dominion, when the Venetians were in conflict with the locals, the churches are scattered across different areas of the hill (Fig. 9). The two basic reasons for the disputes were the arbitrariness of certain rectores and the claiming of Saint George’s relic in 1462, his head, which was kept in a martyrion in Paliochora. The proof of a massive event in 1533 against the administrative power is observed on a marble inscription placed over the lintel of the main entrance of Aghios Georgios Katholikos.\(^{10}\) The external perimeter had been formed while the internal perimeter started to gain in strength. The churches of this third construction period covered all heights of the hill, coming closer to the castle, but at the same time expanding the boundaries of the city to the west. Six churches were erected at this time: Aghios Charalampos, Aghia Kyriaki and Zooodchos Pege (double basilicas), Aghia Varvara, Aghioi Theodoroi, Aghios Athanasios and, Aghios Zacharias (single-aisled basilicas).

The first Venetian ruling ended with the destructive invasion by Barbarossa which must have changed the original image of the city.

The tendency of occupying higher parts is even more obvious in the last construction period. The largest number of churches was constructed in the last construction phase and for the first time churches were built on the top layers of the hill where the castle dominated (Fig. 10). The seventeenth century was characterised by the return of the

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\(^{10}\) For more details see pp. 70, 101-102
Venetians, who had better relationships with the natives this time and offered help for the fortification of the city; both for the castle and the external walls.\textsuperscript{11} The proof of better relationships is the construction of a church on the top of the hill, inside the castle’s walls. It is possible that there were other churches inside the castle premises which have not survived, but the chronological coincidence of building a double basilica and the co-operation of Venetians and Greeks in the fortification of the castle shows definite social change. The churches dating from the seventeenth century are: Timios Stavros, Aghios Georgios, the Church of the Metamorphosis, Aghios Demetrios, Aghios Nikolaos, Aghia Anna, Aghioi Anargyroi, Aghia Makrina, Aghios Menas, Aghios Eleftherios, Aghios Kyrekos, Aghios Stylianos, and Aghia Kryfti (single-aisled basilicas), Aghios Stephanos (basilica with a transverse sanctuary), Aghios Demetrios and Georgios of the castle (double basilica).

By the end of the seventeenth century the city had reached its complete form. According to the data available today, the external perimeter started from the Church of the Cross and passed from Aghios Stephanos, Aghios Ioannis Prodromos, the Church of the Metamorphosis, the Koimesis of the Theotokos, Aghios Demetrios, Aghioi Anargyroi, Aghios Nikolaos the North, Aghios Ioannis Theologos, and Aghia Kyriaki. The internal perimeter concentrated on a smaller surface area and included the Panaghia of Giannoulis, Aghios Georgios Katholikos, Aghios Dionysios, Aghioi Theodoroi, Aghia Makrina, and Aghia Kyriaki where the two roads intersected. With narrower paths starting from the internal perimeter, the citizens could approach the remaining churches.

\textsuperscript{11} Μ. Εμμανουήλ, 'Η Παλαιόχώρα της Αίγινας' στο Αφιέρωμα: Η Παλαιόχώρα της Αίγινας, Αιγιναία, τχ. 2, July-December 2000, pp. 31-50, p. 38.
An analysis of the architectural activity in Paliochora in its four construction periods makes it clear that the major building activity occurred in the last phase. In each of the previous three periods almost the same number of churches were built; always around six. However, a question that will be answered in this chapter concerns whether this construction explosion coincided with the development of a distinct architectural style or if massive production was simplified. This question was approached by analysing the architectural patterns that can be identified by observing the architectural parts individually.

The contemporary image that we have of Paliochora consists only of examples of ecclesiastical architecture. However, a medieval city included private buildings, administrative facilities, and defence structures. The photographs taken during the fieldwork show that today the fortification wall is in ruins (Fig. 11). Moutsopoulos describes in his book that apart from the external fortress there was a wall on the west side close to Aghios Ioannis Theologos, which was not visible from the sea. This wall could be seen only as a mark on the ground during fieldwork. Moreover, Kalogeropoulos adds that this area was the district inhabited by the wealthiest citizens, basing his argument on the more conscientious building system and size of churches. However, these comments are not based on any primary source and therefore, can be regarded as tentative. The current research associates the quality of masonry to the different practices followed in the different construction phases and not to the district. The only region without traces of fortification is the northwest, due to the sharp inclination of the ground. In 2010 the only clear evidence of defence was observable inside the churches. The fortification consisted of two parallel walls which were interrupted occasionally by churches or houses. In these cases, for example with

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12 Moutsopoulos, Παλιοχώρα, p. 45.
13 ND Kalogeropoulos, ‘Η Περιφέρεια Παλιοχώρα’, Κύρης της Αιγίνης, τχ. 20, Aegina, 1948, p. 130.
14 See the relevant subchapter ‘Masonry’, pp. 64-66.
the Monastery of Aghia Kyriaki, the buildings became part of the fortification system by altering some of their features, such as the window on the east wall of the sanctuary which was turned towards the south in order to view possible invaders.\textsuperscript{15} According to Papas this tactic was followed in many islands of the Aegean.\textsuperscript{16} These churches became a kind of watch tower, helping to protect the island from invasions. Churches with windows off the central axis are: Aghia Kyriaki, Aghia Ekaterini, Aghios Stephanos, Aghios Demetrios, the Koimesis of the Theotokos, and Aghios Eleftherios (Fig. 12). Beyond that the church of Aghios Kyrekos occupied a strategic position next to the castle, which gave it the advantage of multiple viewpoints in all directions. Its insignificant dimensions (1.90*2.25 m) can lead to the conclusion that it functioned as a kind of guard house where they could have a complete overview of the region and communication with the castle’s administration.\textsuperscript{17} Moreover, there are the remains of Byzantine fortresses on the opposite hills that were visible only from the castle and this little church. It is possible this guardhouse was part of a communication system to warn the citizens. Finally, Aghios Eleftherios includes a secret basement, probably used as a refuge. There is a possibility of more cases like this where the inclination of the ground allows the creation of such auxiliary space. Apparently the city of Paliochora acquired a defence system that expanded on many levels and where the buildings themselves helped the citizens to protect the city from invasions.

The third vital element of Paliochora’s urban design is the squares. The majority were formed during the second construction period, under Catalan rule, when the city started to acquire a more cohesive structure. Due to the roughness and inclination of the ground the addition of squares was not common place. All of them were created to

\textsuperscript{15} Moutsopoulos, Παληχώρα, p. 44.
\textsuperscript{17}Moutsopoulos’ monograph contains an error in his analysis of Aghios Stylianos and Aghios Kyrekos, which are presented in reversed order, meaning that under the name of Aghios Kyrekos we have the description and plan of Aghios Stylianos. This mistake was identified during fieldwork when it became clear that the descriptions and plans did not match to the actual edifices, Moutsopoulos, Παληχώρα, pp. 65, 77.
facilitate certain needs and their location was carefully selected judging by their placement on the map. A similar placement of squares is documented on the island of Kythera at the same chronological period.\textsuperscript{18} Three squares were constructed, each one of them facilitating different activities. The basic social centre of the city, linked to important historical events, was the Square of Forou, from the Latin word \textit{forum}, in front of the major church of Aghios Georgios Katholikos which extended as far as Aghia Varvara (Fig. 13).\textsuperscript{19} The name of the square influenced the name of the dominant church which apart from its official dedication was known as the Panaghia of Forou.\textsuperscript{20} This square functioned as the centre of the city on important political or religious occasions. In 1533 when the citizens expressed their discontent with the Venetian rector of the administrative centre of Nafplion, the Venetian Commander visited the city and addressed the people from this square.\textsuperscript{21} The event is commemorated on a marble inscription above the main lintel of the church and is analysed under the title ‘Marble or Sculpted Decoration’.

In close proximity to the Square of Forou was the Square of the Cathedral (Fig. 14). This square was created as a result of the construction of the Cathedral on three levels. The Cathedral was also a monastery which required auxiliary spaces and cells apart from its main church. The courtyard was surrounded by these buildings and united the levels through stairs.\textsuperscript{22} The final square was the Square of Aghios Ioannis Theologos, named after the dominant church (Fig. 15). There is no evidence in primary sources for the function of this square. A primary consideration could be that its character was local and it functioned as a place for the celebration of feast days, such as Easter, weddings or even funerals. Furthermore, along with the Square of Forou it

\textsuperscript{19} Moutsopoulos, \textit{Παλιοχώρα}, p. 46.
\textsuperscript{20} For further details, see pp. 101-2
\textsuperscript{22} Moutsopoulos, \textit{Παλιοχώρα}, p. 134.
could function as a commercial centre providing space for trading activities, based on Georgopoulou’s argument in the example of Crete where open spaces gave direct access to primary economic resources.\(^{23}\)

The fourth and last square was formulated much later in the seventeenth century, in front of the church of Timios Stavros (Fig. 16). This church was situated on the lower level of the hill, next to the road which connects the two ports of the island. This square seems to have had the same function as Aghios Ioannis Theologos according to the information provided by Moutsopoulos; celebration of feast days and probably some commercial transactions.\(^{24}\) This observation is based only on folklore songs which speak for the existence of bakeries in this square and the celebration of Easter. However, the hypothesis may be regarded as tentative as it is based on oral tradition and there is no written evidence for the construction of this free space or its functions. One argument supporting this theory of a commercial centre is that the location of the last square was closer to the main roads of the island which gave access to both of the ports. All tradesmen were obliged to pass through this square on their way to the ports of Souvala and Aegina, so it would be a wise choice to place a market on that spot.

An overall examination of the complete map of Paliochora at the end of its development in the seventeenth century shows that the position of the squares was strategic (Fig. 17). The main square for important political events and the Cathedral were situated in the core of the city and the two commercial and local centres occupied the two edges on the east and west sides. The two locations with the possibility of being the commercial centres are the only ones on the hill that possess vegetation,


\(^{24}\) Moutsopoulos, Παληχώρα, p. 48.
providing a better climate for the people who worked there during the hot months of the summer and making them suitable for large gatherings.

Last but not least, the image of Paliochora as a medieval city is completed by the castle on the top of the hill. Remains of Latin castles on the Greek mainland and the Aegean, which have resisted destruction of the time and the Ottomans, remind us of the western conquerors and the states they founded. The locals were involved in its reinforcement, but it was also connected with the conquerors that dominated the island, lived inside its walls and used it as an administrative centre. The date of the original construction of the castle is not specified in any source. However, because the primary reason for transferring the capital was protection from pirates, it may be assumed that the construction process started in the first years of the foundation of the city by the French dukes. Greek academics involved in the peninsula agree that the castle was completed by 1462 with the economic support of the Venetians. This support was offered in exchange for the holy relic, the head of Saint George which was kept in Aghios Georgios Katholikos. It is a strong hypothesis based on an economic transaction which was completed at the time and with a very high price for the Aeginians, a holy relic. In addition, the castle suffered destructions associated with the invasions of the Ottoman generals in the beginning of the sixteenth century and Morozini in 1654. In 1687 Coronelli visited Paliochora and said that the castle possessed sixty houses, five wells and the twin basilica of Aghios Georgios and Demetrios. Chandler in 1765 did not encounter ruins and counted eighty houses

\[27\] For more details, see pp. 101-102.
\[28\] Moutsopoulos, *Παλιοχώρα*, p. 36.
which were largely abandoned.\textsuperscript{30} In 2010, apart from the church and the ruined wells, there were only a few remains of the walls of the castle.

The settlement of Paliochora adapted to the natural environment and was built in a form of amphitheatre in a circular pattern with numerous small edifices, secular and ecclesiastical in order to create a cohesive fabric. The focus on the medieval acropolis left the valley of Messagros free for agricultural activities which reinforced the economy of the city. The decline of Paliochora meant the decline of the feudal system, and the return to the original capital on the coast became the starting point of the predominance of the locals; mainly tradesmen and seamen who fought in the war for independence against the Ottoman Turks.\textsuperscript{31} An inscription on the north side of the church of Taxiarchis Michael commemorates the date of return to their former houses. Prokopiou includes this phrase in his article: '1801 Γεναριώ 7. Θα κατέβουμε στο νοικοκυριό μας'.\textsuperscript{32} In this new settlement in 1828, governor Kapodistrias founded the first capital of Greece and signalled the final abandonment of Paliochora.

**The factors which determined the size and number of the churches**

Apart from the general trends of the era which were pointed out in the first part of this chapter, the final architectural result in the Late and Post Byzantine period related more to personal taste and the necessities of each individual region, especially concerning the more rural settlements.

One of the questions that has to be addressed at this point before incorporating the individual architectural features, is why is there such a large number of churches in

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{31} Μουτσοπούλος, *Παληχώρα*, p. 39.  
\textsuperscript{32} '7\textsuperscript{th} January 1801. Today we return to our households’, ibid.
\end{flushright}
such a small geographical surface in contrast with their small dimensions. This is the first question that strikes anyone who visits the protected archaeological site of Paliochora. The current number of churches is thirty-four, although their original number is said to have exceeded three hundred, based on a theory implying that there were enough churches to match all the days of the year. The loss of the majority can be attributed to the turbulent history of Aegina. The architectural construction was obviously influenced by several factors during each period; the key ones being the continuous change of sovereigns, the new ecclesiastical hierarchy, economic instability, and the form of social life which was framed to facilitate the needs of the current administrative power.

The historical contextualisation of the island showed that the citizens of Aegina were forced to move to the hinterland of the island in the end of the ninth century to avoid the rising threat of pirates. As has been explained, Paliochora forms a hill with rocky ground. There was a shortage of space and uneven ground compared to the previous area of residence which was flat and easily accessible, so the new region did not encourage complicated constructions. The citizens had to adapt to the new conditions and reform their buildings, both households and churches. This tendency of reformation due to practical difficulties coincided with the spirit of Post Byzantine architecture which encouraged more intimate spaces.

Apart from forcing the abandonment of the older, coastal settlement during the ninth century, piracy continued to affect life in Paliochora as well as on the majority of Greek islands which experienced difficulties in exporting and importing products. Their economy had previously been based on trade and commerce and started to decline from a high level of prosperity during the Catalan dominion when the fights between

33 Chandler, Travels, p. 20.
Venetians and the Ottomans were constant during the sixteenth century. The island could not maintain the amount of money emanating from trade and its economic status quo fell gradually. The citizens had to concentrate on issues of survival rather than consuming their time with sophisticated architecture. Furthermore, they could not afford to bring expert *technites* from the capital of the Empire or even the closer city of Athens. Their main objective was to create places in which to worship God and that could easily be accomplished in humbler forms. Paliochora faced the same situation as the whole Greek peninsula, where after the sixteenth century ecclesiastical building was privately funded and was directed by Greek workmen.

The fact that there is information for certain churches and their functions as the Cathedral, a martyrion, and the churches on the main squares, leads to the assumption that the remaining churches were functioning as parish ones. Their nature as parish churches provides another perspective in the question why the churches were so small and numerous. The role of a parish church is to serve neighbouring areas and their faithful. Since the ecclesiastical projects were funded by individuals it is highly probable that locals would get together in order to build a church close to their premises. Based on the fact that that whole surface of Paliochora covers only approximately two square kilometers, the neighbourhoods were not extensive and did not need massive building to host the faithful.

Up to this point, topography, economic instability, personal preferences and the character of parish churches have explained the small size of churches. The second part of the question involves the large number of churches which can be explained if the factor of private, family funding comes again to the forefront. Their difference in

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35 A Lignos, *'Ειδήσεις Τινές Περί Αιγίνης κατά τους Χρόνους της Ενετοκρατίας*, Κύριος Αιγίνης-την. 29, Aegina, 1949, p. 70.
37 The analysis is presented on pp. 94–95.
size and position in the church hierarchy of Paliochora shows that funding must have been provided by wealthy donors, but also middling families as happened in the majority of medieval cities in Greece.  

The system of church patrons cannot be identified easily as there is not a large number records remaining due to the destruction of churches. The only information available exists in marble inscriptions placed on the external surface of churches or dedications painted on some of the frescoes. While in the first case it can be assumed that the name commemorated was that of the official patron of the church, when the name is just mentioned on the fresco we cannot be certain if the person funded the whole project, the iconographic decoration or just that one fresco.

In the aftermath of the fourth Crusade in 1204, Constantinople became the capital of the Latin Empire until 1261. As political power was coherently linked to clerical power, the ecclesiastical balance was in turbulence. The highest dignitary in the hierarchy was the Patriarch and Archbishop, who controlled the actions of the Metropolitan Bishops. Each region had its own Suffragan Bishop, who decided matters of communal life and also had administrative duties. All Bishops who did not wish to co-operate with the Latin Episcopate were removed. The Bishops of the conquered islands were obliged to share views accepted in the capital. Very few of the Greek prelates accepted papal primacy and the rest abandoned their regions. The Archbishop, Michael Chroniates, found refuge on the island of Kea and the Bishop of Crete in Mytilene. According to McKee and the example of Venetian-dominated Crete during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries which coincides with the Venetian period in Paliochora, Greek

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39 More information on family donors on pp. 67-69.

priests continued to minister their congregants, but they had to be ordained on Crete.\textsuperscript{41} Each province usually included churches from two categories, first, the Cathedral which had a clear position and stood at the centre of the city and second, small churches, chapels for the genuine needs of the people. This situation can be observed in the city of Paliochora which had one major church and numerous parish churches scattered all around the area for the locals.

In addition, during the period of the Latin conquests, monasticism changed its structure completely. From large monastic communities, such as the monasteries of Mount Athos, it was restricted into small societies of monks.\textsuperscript{42} The Latin administration across the Empire tried to diminish the appeal of the Orthodox doctrine and did not provide much freedom to the monks who were not allowed to change location and monasteries.\textsuperscript{43} The size of the monasteries followed the general spirit of Post Byzantine architecture in rural regions that promoted humility, intimacy and small sacred spaces, a fact observed on both monasteries in Paliochora, Aghios Dionysios and Aghia Kyriaki.

The size and number of churches in Paliochora was not influenced only by the geographical specificities or the general trend across the remaining Byzantine territories. It was again the result of socio-economic fermentations between the locals and the Latins, the exchange of power and ecclesiastical administration, a fact never properly evaluated in the case of Paliochora.

\textsuperscript{42} Bouras, \textit{Βυζαντινή Αρχιτεκτονική}, p. 242.
\textsuperscript{43} Moutsopoulos, \textit{Παλιχώρα}, p. 107.
The architectural specificities of the churches

Apart from the general organisation of the settlement, its circulatory system and its defence, observations on the four construction periods can be done for the individual architectural members as well. At this point the analysis moves away from considering Paliochora as a unit and proceeds in the evaluation of the architectural specificities of the churches, both externally and internally, in order to examine if certain elements were preferred in certain periods, if there were tendencies associated with specific conquerors and how the overall image of the churches as buildings changed from the beginning until the final construction phase. The comparative analysis includes references to other Greek examples in order to identify if the style of Paliochora creates an exception or falls in the general frame of Greek ecclesiastical architecture. The main volume of examples includes references to medieval cities which were developed on a hill, such as Mistras, Kastoria and Veroia since the Late Byzantine period. In addition comparative material, specifically for the last two construction periods and the Venetian dominion, is provided by the example of Crete, the major Venetian acquisition (1211-1669).

The evaluation of the architectural characteristics will strengthen the basic argument of this thesis that the construction of Paliochora is divided according to its historic periods and will provide evidence and useful material for the next chapter which will associate the five church types with precise functions. Moutsopoulos provides a thorough description of each church providing all existing archaeological evidence under church plan groupings but does not relate his findings chronologically in order to extract patterns and styles. The second part of his book is devoted to the explanation of the evolution of certain architectural specificities, such as the masonry, the vaulting, the beams, the orientation, the windows and the belfries but his research incorporates the
evolution throughout Byzantine architectural history with general examples, but fails to be specific and focused on the actual development in Paliochora. In the light of that, one of the aims of this thesis is to conduct a comparative analysis of the architectural units focusing specifically on their use in Paliochora and how their practice changed between the construction periods. The results of fieldwork were, first, recorded in charts, which are presented in the appendix in form of tables, and in continuation were analysed by taking into account the historical and economic circumstances (Tabs. 1-4).

The following part of this study constitutes the first attempt to evaluate the style of architecture which was employed in this medieval city. The findings will add to the knowledge of architectural practices of the period in the area of the Mediterranean. The analysis starts by the presentation of the surrounding space, moves to the external features of the buildings in order to conclude with the most sacred spaces of the interior.

- **The Courtyard**

The creation of a strictly structured square around Christian churches is a phenomenon encountered from the fifth century onwards. It started as a continuation of the pagan tradition and was adopted by large settlements in order to provide insularity and protection in the form of a compound. In large monastic settlements, especially from the Middle Byzantine period, the whole area which included the main church, auxiliary buildings and the square was clearly defined by high stone walls around the perimeter. However, during the Late Byzantine period the size of the square diminished, both for economic reasons and to be in accordance to the new size of

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44 Moutsopoulos, Παλαιάχώρα, pp. 173-197.
churches, and ended up being a simple courtyard. This practice has been followed in several regions of the Mediterranean such as Greece, North Africa and Syria.\textsuperscript{47}

Christian liturgy guided the formation of Orthodox churches. Krautheimer describes that the celebration of the Mass had apportioned the nave primarily to the clergy since the early fifth century. The congregation on the islands of the Aegean seems to have relegated large parts of the service to auxiliary spaces or the outside.\textsuperscript{48} This practice seems to have been taken into consideration in Paliocchora, justified by the importance of the city in the ecclesiastical hierarchy until the seventeenth century when the Bishop was transferred to Nafplion. It is only reasonable to assume that important clerics were visiting the site, due to the existence of the Cathedral of the diocese and the holy relic. The small size of the churches did not allow the entire congregation to be present inside the premises, leaving the courtyard to the laity.

The fieldwork carried out in association with the primary monograph, which did not include all the existing courtyards, proved that the courtyard was a feature encountered more often in early construction periods. The majority of courtyards appear during the Catalan dominion (1313-1451) when the most important and elaborate churches were erected. For example, Aghios Georgios Katholikos was built in the main square of the city and hosted all the major feasts and it was the church where the Aeginians kept Aghios Georgios’ relic before the Venetians transferred it to San Giorgio Maggiore in Venice in 1462 (Fig. 13). As a consequence not only locals, but pilgrims from all over Greece visited to pay their respects to the relic.\textsuperscript{49} Aghios Efthymios was a twin basilica and needed supplementary space for the double number

\textsuperscript{47} Orlandos, \textit{Παλαιοχριστιανική Βασιλική}, p. 94.
\textsuperscript{49} See pp. 101-102.
of faithful (Fig. 18). Aghios Dionysios was the Cathedral where all the officials, administration and clergy, attended the ceremonies. The last church of this construction period, Aghios Ioannis Prodromos functioned as a parish church.

There are only three examples from the thirteenth century; Aghia Ekaterini, the Koimesis of Aghia Anna, and the Panaghia of Giannoulis. The two first are built side by side on a small flat area approached by a path starting just after Aghioi Anargyroi. They are almost identical in size; separated only by a gap of two metres. The courtyard was created in front of them at the end of the path which leads to the entrance of the churches and is not marked by any kind of stone bench or low wall. It is a consequence of their joint construction on the same flat surface. There is no reference of the function of these churches, but their size and placement on a secondary path indicate that most probably they functioned as churches for the faithful of the neighbourhood. Last but not least, the Panaghia of Giannoulis is recorded as a twin basilica and belongs to the same category as Aghios Efthymios (Fig. 19). The same situation is observed in the seventeenth-century Martyrion; Aghios Stephanos (Fig. 20).

Later on, in the sixteenth century, there are only two examples of courtyards. The courtyard of Aghia Varvara is part of the greater area of the Square of Forou and Aghia Kyriaki is the major female monastic settlement and consequently there was need for a communal space to facilitate communication between the church, the auxiliary buildings, and the cells (Fig. 21). The courtyard of Timios Stavros was the expansion of the new commercial square of the seventeenth century; it was the intermediary space which linked the religious space with the communal passage (Fig. 16).

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The appearance of a courtyard in Paliochora was not a general practice. Instead it was linked to specific functions and was associated with certain types of churches constructed mainly in the two first periods. Since Paliochora acquired a high ecclesiastical status since the placement of the Bishop in the fourteenth century it was only logic that the second construction period would be linked with more extensive religious spaces. What we can observe here is that under the Venetians in the last two phases the function of the previous courtyards was sustained, but only three courtyards appeared; one as an expansion, one as part of a monastery and one probably the new commercial centre as explained earlier. Georgopoulou observes that on Crete they were used as places to exercise their control.\textsuperscript{51} The appearance of courtyards seems to be linked with the ecclesiastical advantages provided until the transference of the Cathedral to Nafplion in the seventeenth century marked a new era in church architecture where mainly parish churches were built and no auxiliary space was needed in order to accommodate large amounts of people or to provide insularity.

- **The Belfry**

According to Robert Ousterhout, before the Palaeologian period churches used the *semantron*, a metal or wooden beam, to call the faithful. The bell was a new addition to the architectural vocabulary of the era, making its first appearance in the twelfth century in the West.\textsuperscript{52} In Paliochora the belfry is one of the architectural elements with the most consistent appearance, linked almost exclusively to one period and following the same design. It appears during the Catalan conquest in the fourteenth century, and is an adjunct to all of the churches with one exception; Aghios Nikolaos the North.

\textsuperscript{51} Georgopoulou, *Colonies*, p. 74.
Its appearance in the following construction periods is restricted to three examples; Aghios Charalampos, Aghia Kyriaki, and the Church of the Metamorphosis.

While Ousterhout observes that the belfry in its appearance did not have a standard position and simply added to the picturesque look of the building, its placement in Paliochora followed a standard pattern observable in every case.\(^53\) It was constructed on the vertical axis as the main entrance of the church on the west façade (Fig. 22). The entrance was thus emphasized and furthermore, the west elevation acquired a more elaborate character. The belfry did not have a large width or height but the stonework seemed more refined than the external surface of the wall below. Interestingly, the morphology of the belfry did not change through the centuries and followed the classic paradigm quadrangular with pyramidal roof that is observed in churches in major Byzantine settlements such as Trebizont, Mount Athos, Mistras, Arta and Crete.\(^54\)

The same rectangular shape with one arch was employed in the churches of Paliochora (Fig. 23). In all cases the almost even stones are placed in parallel courses creating the impression of a simplistic cloisonné system, ending in an angular shape (Fig. 24). The bell was placed inside an arch on the top of the rectangle. Bells of small size, probably not the original ones, still exist in Aghios Georgios Katholikos and Aghios Ioannis Theologos (Fig. 25). The dimensions of the belfries are approximately identical as the size of churches does not vary significantly. Both style and size become standard features for this architectural element. The only difference in style is observed in the Cathedral, where its tower is divided into three zones by Doric capitals.


and the extremity creates a small pediment with marble contours (Fig. 26). It is the most elaborate belfry of the peninsula and is linked to the importance of the church.

Early on in this research it was supposed that the belfries were a feature linked to the status of churches and did not have any chronological affiliation to a certain period or conqueror. This hypothesis was neither completely right nor completely wrong. Indeed, the fieldwork and the charts showed a preference around the fourteenth century, but the churches erected during that century were the major ones in Paliochora; a Martyrion, the social centre, the commercial centre, and the Cathedral. The only inconsistency is the absence of a belfry in the second Martyrion of Aghios Nikolaos the North, but there is always a possibility that it was destroyed. However, the primary argument is established by the existence of three belfries in later churches; Aghia Kyriaki and Aghios Charalampos from the sixteenth century and the Church of the Metamorphosis from the seventeenth century (Figs. 27-28). Aghia Kyriaki and Aghios Charalampos were double basilicas and due to their function they held a special position in the ecclesiastical hierarchy of Paliochora. However, in provincial architecture we can never exclude the factor of preference and choice, since the churches were built on private funding (Fig. 29). Most belfries appeared during the Catalan period, but is also used in the following centuries during the Venetian conquest in important churches of the peninsula.

- **Vaulting**

The use of sophisticated vaulting was not so prominent in Late Byzantium due to the small scale of churches. The *technites* did not invent new ways of vaulting, but

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55 The function of twin basilicas is presented on pp. 108-125.
followed traditions drawn from Early Christian architecture, standardized since the fourth century, with the addition of western influences such as pointy edges.\footnote{Orlandos, Παλαιοχριστιανική Βασιλική, p. 59.} In the large size such monasteries of Arta and Mistras during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, a dome was still the preferable solution, but in cases of return to the basilica type, the roofing had to return to a simple vault.\footnote{Bouras, Βυζαντινή Αρχιτεκτονική, figs. 206, 208, 220, 260, 267, 268, 272.} The roofing of the churches in Paliochora is divided into three categories: the dome, the pointed arch and the barrel vault type. The dome exists only in three cases which follow the older floor plans based on a cross shape (Fig. 30). All examples belong to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Taxiarchis Michael and Aghios Ioannis Theologos and the third is the Cathedral of the peninsula.

In all the other churches the \textit{technites} chose each time between one of the two types, pointed arch or barrel vault, and there is no dominant type of roof (Figs. 31-32). Fieldwork showed that there are no vaulting patterns linked to certain floor plans, different districts on the hill or the four construction periods; except for the free-cross type which is always domed. Consequently, one comes to ask if the type of vault that was employed every time was a random choice, influenced only by the expertise of each group of masons.

The pointy edged vault was a more common practice in Western architecture and can be linked to the presence of the Latin conquerors, while the barrel vault was used in Mediterranean examples or the Middle East.\footnote{Ibid., pp. 194, 217, Gratziou, Κρήτη, p. 100.} However, even in the cases where the \textit{oikodomoi} chose to incorporate a more western model, the edge is not extremely pointed, but smoother at the end. The only example that remained faithful to western architectural practices is the double church of the castle, Aghios Georgios and
Demetrios (Fig. 33). As mentioned in the introduction, during the seventeenth century and the second Venetian conquest, the relationship between them and the locals ameliorated. The exact function of the twin basilica will be analysed in the next chapter, but judging by the architectural type and the placement of the church, it can be stated that the Latins were definitely involved in its construction. Regarding the influence of the Venetians, table 1 at the end of the appendix shows that the majority of churches, fifteen out of twenty-two, incorporated the pointy vault under their authority, while during the French and Catalan period the examples of pointy and barrel vault were equal. This observation coincides with the examples of single aisled basilicas recorded by Gratziou on Crete during the long period of Venetian dominance, which followed the same pattern.  

In all churches the basic material of the roof is stone from the local quarry. Where stone was used for vaulting, a wooden formwork was necessary for supporting purposes. The wooden shuttering is apparent in semi-destroyed churches such as Aghios Athanasios (Fig. 34). Apart from differences in the shape of the roof there were differences in the covering material. Again, two different types are encountered in Paliochora; Byzantine tiles, which in most cases have been replaced by new ones, and flat stone-tiles. Traditional Byzantine tiles were rather large, two Greek feet long and one in width (29.6 to 33.3 cm), placed alongside each other, while their joints were covered with a hollowed tile (antefixae), (Fig. 35).

The vault of the double basilicas is covered by flat stones, except for Aghios Charalampos (Fig. 36). At the moment the group of vaults with flat stones is completed by Archangel Michael, Aghios Eleftherios, Aghios Menas, Aghios Athanasios

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61 Ι Κλιμοπούλου, Παλαιοχώρα της Αιγίνας-Ανάδειξη Αρχαιολογικού Χώρου, Διπλωματική Εργασία στα Πλαίσια του Μεταπτυχιακού της Σχολής Αρχιτεκτόνων Μηχανικών, Εθνικό Μετσόβιο Πολυτεχνείο, Athens, 2008.
and Aghios Demetrios. The majority of roofs has lost its coverings and is without any remains that point towards one or the other style (Fig. 37). The Cathedral is unique because the technites used a mixture of flat stones on the sides and tiles on the dome.

Another element linked to the roofing procedure is the choice of whether or not to use a reinforcement arch to support the vault. Again it is a matter size and engineering knowledge of each group of technites and it was applied regardless of the period. Several churches built on unstable or uneven ground were more likely to need a reinforcement arch to support their construction.

- **The Masonry**

Late Byzantine builders depended heavily on the tradition laid down by their predecessors during the Middle Byzantine period. In large cities such as Constantinople, Arta, and Mistras the exterior decoration continued to be enriched and playful. Saw-tooth friezes, single or double brick courses alternate the cloisonné system, while western elements enter the game with crocket capitals and pairs of intertwined columns. However, the style of masonry had to adjust to the general changes of church plans in this last phase of Byzantine architecture, especially in the provinces. Their subtle character enriched by regional idiosyncrasies was apparent in the stonework as well. Gratziou comments on Crete that the use of more expensive material, such as marble, was reduced and was replaced by available local material from older buildings.

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65 Gratziou, *Κρήτη*, p. 77.
In Paliochora the quarry of Schiston, to the north of the hill, played a vital role in the choice of the hill for the new capital of the island and in parallel became the primary factor for the unique character of the buildings. By using the local materials available, the cost of construction was reduced and production became quicker. The construction materials were stones, dakite, andesite, and limestone extracted from the quarry, easily transferrable to the location of Paliochora from the main road which united the two ports of the island. The image of the external surface of the churches is almost identical in colour and texture. The only difference is the method of construction, the way the stones are juxtaposed and linked to each other.

The motif of masonry did not change radically between the four construction periods, as the main material remained the same. During the first two periods the external appearance of the churches was rudimentary, an impression created by the quality of the stones, which had not been processed; their size was varied, and there was an absence of masonry courses (Figs. 38-39). However, in two churches of the thirteenth century, the Archangel Michael and the Panaghia of Giannoulis, there were courses of stones only on the quoins of the edifice to increase its stability (Fig. 40). During the fourteenth century this practice became more frequent and expanded to the overall surface of the building, improving the general impression of the façade.

The situation changed slightly in the examples of the sixteenth century under the Venetians. The third construction period includes churches with the most carefully constructed masonry; Aghia Kyriaki, Aghia Varvara and Aghios Charalampos have elevations with refined stones following stricter courses, resembling the refined result of the Late Byzantine period in major cities, such as Mistras and Thessaloniki (Figs. 41-42), but still extracted from the local quarry.66 However, there are still examples in

66 Bouras, Βυζαντινή Αρχιτεκτονική, figs. 242, 272.
this century where the masonry returns to rudimentary style such as Aghios Athanasios and Aghioi Theodoroi (Figs. 43-44). This division can be associated with the status and function of the churches, as Aghia Kyriaki and Aghios Charalampos were double basilicas and Aghia Varvara was located in the Square of Forou, on the perimeter of the social centre.

During the seventeenth century the façades returned to a less organised manner (Figs. 45-46). The only exception is the twin basilica of the castle which is the only example possessing a totally angled vault, proving its special character among the churches of this construction period. Another practice developed in the fourth construction period is the lack of mortar between the stones. The observations concerning the last two periods can be regarded as contradictory since there was no change in the conquerors of the island. Therefore, it is highly probable that the style of masonry depended on the preferences of the local technites.

Generally, the masonry of Paliochora proves its provincial character. All the stones were taken from the local quarry of Schiston. The width of stonework also varies from 0.50 m to 0.70 m according to the difficulty of the ground and the available stones, but the most popular dimension is 0.55 to 0.60 m. The width of the walls is not related to any chronological division and one can find narrow or wide examples in all construction periods.

- **Marble or Sculpted Decoration**

Apart from the choice of stones and types of masonry, a church elevation was characterised by another practice; the use of spolia, meaning ancient parts of old temples reused and incorporated in the masonry. Marble was used in church
decoration for secondary elements such as columns, cornices and architraves. Besides their aesthetic function, they served a more specific purpose, which was the continuation of faith, as all were part of former religious buildings. However, there is another explanation for this practice which is more pragmatic; it reduced the cost of construction. Carved stone was often re-used to decorate Late Byzantine churches when the Empire declined and fine stones were hard to get.

The term ‘marble decoration’ in this study implies both the marble inscriptions identifying donors, dates and important incidents in the life of Paliochora and the solely decorative elements that were used for symbolic and aesthetic purposes. As an overall remark, the marble elements from any category appear more frequently until the sixteenth century, re-affirming the observation that the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries produced more elaborate architectonic results. During the last centuries the number of examples is diminished radically.

The two academics particularly associated with architectural matters of Paliochora, Moutsopoulos and Gitakos, frequently disagreed in their interpretation of marble inscriptions. Gitakos examined inscriptions from an archaeological point of view, but Moutsopoulos tried to make a comparative analysis incorporating examination of architectural elements. One dispute between the two academics was connected to the church of the Archangel Michael. The name of the church is mentioned on the internal surface of the main entrance in a small inscription. The inscription was published by Gitakos and states: ‘Church of the Commander Michael’. The whole debate between the two academics evolved around the dating of the church by Gitakos according to

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68 ibid., p. 26
69 C Gitakos, Ανέκδοται Επιγραφαί και Χαράγματα εκ Βυζαντινών και Μετοβεβληθείσων Μνημείων της Ελλάδος, Athens, 1957.
70 Moutsopoulos, Πολιτισμός, 1962.
71 The size of the inscription is 0.20 by 0.18 m.
72 Gitakos, Επιγραφαί, p. 63.
three inscriptions, one on the left of the conch of the apse, one in the south wall and one inside the twin basilica of the castle in the form of spolia. The inscriptions were not very clearly visible at the time of fieldwork in September 2009.

'ΑΝΙΚΩΔΩΜΗΘ Ο ΠΑΝΣΕΒ[ΑΣ]ΤΙΩC [ΝΑ]ΟC ΤΟΥ ΑΡΧΑΓΓΕΛΟΥ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΠΑΡΑ [Γ]ΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΒΡΙΕΝΙΟ ΕΤΟΥC 5ωA'73

Apart from the above inscription Gitakos published the date 1123, read in a form of trace on the lime layer. There is no other evidence that this date was linked with the construction of the church. In addition, it is highly probable that the current lime layer is not contemporary to the date of construction as many of the churches had internal decoration which has now been destroyed. The author came to the conclusion that the church was constructed in 1123 and that it was renovated in 1293 by Constantine Vryennios. It was suggested that the Vryennios name related to a local Byzantine family and not the family of the Dukes in Athens. To support the argument Gitakos claimed that the church of Archangel Michael displays no Western influences and consequently to relate it to a Latin sponsor would be inappropriate. The third inscription is not referenced.74

On the other hand, the architectural research made by Moutsopoulos, which was based on architectural evidence, in association with the third inscription, stated that the construction of the building has definite Western features.75 He referred to the structure of the pointed vault, stressing also the existence of a reinforcement arch. Moreover, the lack of mortar in the masonry is considered a foreign element in the construction.

73 ‘The Church of the Holy Archangel Michael was constructed during the Vryenios’ year in 1293’.
74 Gitakos, Επιγραφές, pp. 61-64.
75 Moutsopoulos, Παλαιώρα, pp. 70-71.
The date on the third inscription above is 1324 and refers to the construction or restoration of a church in order to bury members of the Vryennios family under the altar. Moutsopoulos evaluates the architectural elements and based on this inscription states that the church was erected during the fourteenth century. Therefore, the two inscriptions providing evidence on the construction or renovation of the church are the ones which mention the dates 1293 and 1324. Both refer to the Vryennios family identifying the donors. The earlier inscription is found on the walls of the church under discussion and states clearly the construction of the church of the Archangel Michael, while the second was found inside another church, placed on the floor, and simply mentions that the Vryennios family was buried inside a church that was built or renovated in 1324. The primary source cannot be disregarded. The answer to Moutsopoulos’s argument referring to the form of the vault can be considered as the possible restoration. Of course, due to lack of any evidence on the renovation process this can only be speculation.

There is only one marble inscription that commemorates an important event from the history of the island. It is located above the main entrance in the church of Aghios Georgios Katholikos. William Miller refers to this inscription retrieving his information from Sanudo’s diaries (early sixteenth century), published in the nineteenth century, Sathas and Lamansky who wrote on the event in the nineteenth century.

76 ‘1324 the bones of the Vryennios and priest and martyrs are under the altar’.
77 Moutsopoulos, Παλησχώρα, pp. 70-71.
The inscription was carved during the last inspection of the Venetian Rector of Nafplion in 1533, before the destruction of the city by Barbarossa (Fig. 47). The lack of control of the rectors of Aegina resulted in them acting with arbitrariness, neglecting the citizens and their needs. By the time the administrator from Nafplion came to the island for interrogations, the local sovereigns had already destroyed all documents relating to their illegal activities. The inscription was created to commemorate this important event in the life of Paliochora and was placed in the entrance of the major church of the square.

The rest of the marble inscriptions are located in Aghios Athanasios, Aghios Demetrios and Aghios Georgios and Demetrios of the castle. The inscription from Aghios Ioannis Theologos dates from the years of its construction (1376-80) and it was discovered thirty-five years ago by archaeologists working in the peninsula. Now it is kept in the Archaeological Museum of Aegina. The inscription is decorated with a cross, created by four triangles with equal sides. All the triangles have decorative circles on their base. The motif is completed with a fishbone panel, around the main text. The inscription was published by the Catalan researcher N. d’ Oliver in 1935, according to the dedication in the Museum.

‘ΤΕΜΠΟΡΕ ΣΥΝΔΙΚΑΤΟΣ ΧΛΑΡΙΣΣ ΔΟΜΙΝΙ
ΑΝΤΟΝΙΙ ΒΑΡΒΑΡΟ ΔΙΓΝΙΣΙΜΙ ΚΟΣΝΙΛΙΑΙΡΙ
ΝΑΥΠΙΙΙ ΡΟΜΑΝΤΕ DIE PRIM APRILIS MD XXXIII’

79 ‘In the days of the glorious sovereign Antonio Barbaro, Dignified Councillor of Nafplion, on the first of April 1533’.
This inscription clarifies that one of the donors was Count Peter who proceeded to ask forgiveness for his sins. It also indicates the rough date of construction as it refers to Peter Fadrigo who was the rector between 1376 and 1380.\(^8^1\)

Another marble inscription kept in the Archaeological Museum of Aegina originally belonged to Aghios Athanasios. Its dimensions are 1.09 by 0.23 m and the text mentions the date of reconstruction.

\[
\text{'ΑΝΑΙΚΕΝΙΣΙ Ω ΘΙΟΣ ΚΕ ΠΑ[Ν]ΣΕΙΤΟΣ ΝΑΟΣ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΟΥ ΔΙΑ ΕΞΟΔΟΥ ΚΕ ΚΟΠΟΥ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΣΟΛΟΜΟΥ αχοδ''}^{8^2}
\]

The inscription of Aghios Demetrios is placed in a marble frame created by two columns which create a pediment. In the entablature there is a low relief carving of Aghios Demetrios on his horse and in the marble surface is still clear to read (Fig. 48).

\[
\text{'ΑΝΑΚΛΙΝΙΣΙ ΤΟΥ ΒΟΘΙΟΥ ΟΥΤΟΣ Ω ΘΙΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΝΤΙΜΟΣ ΝΑΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΜΑΡΥΡΟΣ ΔΙΜΙΤΡΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΜΥΡΟΒΑΝΤΟΥ ΔΙΑ ΣΥΝΑΡΜΟΜΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΞΟΔΟΥ ΠΕΤΡΟΥ ΣΠΥΡΙΔΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΣΠΥΡΙΔΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΥ ΣΠΥΡΙΔΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΣΠΥΡΙΔΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΕΤΕΛΙΟΘΙ ΕΝ ΤΟ ΕΤΟΥΣ 1619 ΕΝ ΜΗΝΗ ΔΕΚΕΜΒΡΙΟΥ ΕΙΚ ΤΙΚ 6'}^{8^3}
\]

Finally, Aghios Spyridon is dated to the year 1236, but was renovated by the Varoucha family in 1535-9, according to an inscription found as spolia in the church of Aghios Georgios and Demetrios of the castle.\(^8^4\) Similar inscriptions using the same words to

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\(^8^2\) 'Reconstruction of the Holy and Sacred Church of Aghios Athanasios with the Expenses and Work of Georgios Solomos, 1674, July 15'.

\(^8^3\) 'The Holy and Honourable Church of the Grand Martyr Demetrios was renovated with the expenses of Petros Spyridou and Michael Spyridou and Antonios Spyridou and Ioannis Spyridou and was finished in the year 1619, the month of December, the sixth day'.

\(^8^4\) Moutsopoulos, *Παληχώρα*, p. 88.
express the construction of a church are found in the settlement of Kastoria and Veroia.\(^{85}\)

The second part of this section involves sculptured decoration, which during the Late Byzantine period was usually encountered in the west wall above the main entrance and the lintel.\(^{86}\) The introduction of simple reliefs of crosses, lambs, and other non figural subjects is attributed to fourth century Ravenna and continued to appear in frequency during the Middle Byzantine period. The motifs often had a central theme flanked by identical objects.\(^{87}\) These decorative patterns encountered in Paliochora are either later additions in the form of spolia or adopt a local character which makes dating a difficult procedure (Fig. 49). The main motifs included inscribed crosses or petals in circles and more rarely doves and double headed eagles in different combinations (Figs. 50-51). Doves and double-headed eagles were motifs frequently associated with Byzantine art, as the double-headed eagle denoted the dual power of the Emperor, secular and religious, and during the early centuries the power of the Byzantine Empire over the East and the West (Fig. 52).\(^{88}\) On the other hand, the dove symbolised the Holy Spirit and marked the entrance to a sacred place (Fig. 53). Examples of carved lintels are recorded by Gratziou on Crete and Bouras on Crete, Arta, Mistras, and Euboia.\(^{89}\)

Moutsopoulos observed two techniques of creating these decorative patterns either by adding the sculptured motif or by inscribing it to the wall.\(^{90}\) Differences are also observed in the way they appear, the number of petals which are four, five or six and the type of cross which has the shape of the Latin cross in its floriated type, the

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85 The majority of inscriptions in Kastoria have been recorded by Orlandos and Moutsopoulos. There is extensive reference in the Paisidou, pp. 39-58, Papazotos, pp. 87-160.
Byzantine cross, or the cross of Malta (Fig. 54). The floriated cross has a three-petal ending and is a development of the simple Latin cross while the Byzantine is split only into two (Figs. 55-56).\textsuperscript{91} The first type appears in the Cathedral accompanied by the double-headed eagle, Aghios Ioannis Theologos, and Aghios Nikolaos next to the Cathedral. The cross was usually placed in the centre of sculptured zone, surrounded by the mentioned motifs of circled petals or doves. In total the churches possessing such decorative models are: the Archangel Michael, the Koimesis of the Theotokos, the Panagia of Giannoulis, Aghios Efthymios, Aghios Ioannis Theologos, Aghios Nikolaos the North, the Cathedral, Aghioi Theodoroi, Aghia Makrina, Aghios Demetrios, Aghios Menas, and Aghios Nikolaos next to the Cathedral (Figs. 57-58). The restricted repertoire of themes for the sculpted decoration shows a local tradition and an attachment to familial patterns.

On some façades there are also spolia from ancient temples. In the Panagia of Giannoulis there is a capital from Pergamon, on one of the windows of Aghios Georgios Katholikos rests an ancient capital and in Aghios Kyrekos half of an ancient column has become part of the western masonry (Fig. 59). Finally, in the Panagia of Giannoulis there are some carvings that depict sailing boats without open sails.\textsuperscript{92}

- **The Internal Dimensions**

Among the total number of thirty-four churches discussed in this thesis there are no identical buildings in matters of plan and dimensions. The dimensions vary from 1.90 m to 5.20 m for the width and from 2.25 m to 10.70 m for the length. The smallest

\textsuperscript{92} They have been studied by Anna Giannouli in her article ‘Η Ξυλογλυπτική στην Αίγινα το 18\textsuperscript{ο} και 19\textsuperscript{ο} Αιώνα και η Μεσαιωνική Περίοδος Μέσα από τα Χαράγματα και τις Τοιχογραφίες των Εκκλησιών της Παλιοχώρας’ στο Αφιέρωμα: Η Παλιοχώρα της Αίγινας, Αιγιναία, τχ. 2, July-December 2000, pp. 79-96.
church is Aghios Kyrekos, 1.90 by 2.25 m, which is considered to have acted as a
guardhouse, thus inconspicuous dimensions were part of its function in order not to be
visible from the neighbouring hills.\textsuperscript{93} By contrast, the largest church, apart from the
Cathedral, is Aghios Georgios Katholikos, 3.55 by 10.70 m.

The general impression one gains is that there were no radical changes in the
dimensions of churches between the centuries and that is only during the fourteenth
century that the churches were made slightly larger; a fact linked to their prominent
character. At all other times the dimensions do not reflect the status of the church.
The \textit{Catholikon} of the monastic settlement, Aghia Kyriaki, has two small naves
compared to other parish churches such as Aghios Athanasios.

- \textbf{The Entrance}

From the beginnings of Christian architecture, when the first basilicas appeared, there
was a basic theological canon to govern the movement of the faithful in and out of the
curch. Each building intended for worship was turned to the east and the entrance
was placed in the west.\textsuperscript{94} Nine of the thirty-four churches of Paliochora fail to obey this
rule. These are: Archangel Michael, the Panaghia of Giannoulis, Taxiarchis Michael,
Aghios Efthymios, Aghioi Theodori, Aghios Zacharias, Aghios Demetrios, Aghia Anna,
and the Church of the Metamorphosis; churches which belong to all construction
periods. Moreover, there is another category of church that possesses a second side
entrance; Aghios Ioannis Theologos, Aghios Athanasios, Timios Stavros and the
Church of the Metamorphosis. When the entrance is differentiated it is placed in the
north or south wall. The choice relies completely on the ease of access that it offers.

\textsuperscript{93} Moutsopoulos, \textit{Παλιοχώρα}, p. 78.
\textsuperscript{94} A Grabar, \textit{Byzantium: Byzantine Art in the Middle Ages}, Methuen, London, 1966, p. 73.
The Archangel Michael, the Panaghia of Giannoulis, and the Church of the Metamorphosis have their entrances in the south wall and Taxiarchis Michael, Aghioi Theodoro and Aghia Anna in the north. There are three cases in which the entrance has a slight twist of orientation towards the southwest: Aghios Efthymios, Aghios Zacharias and Aghios Demetrios.

The question raised is why the entrance was not always placed in the traditional Orthodox position. The *technites* seemed to know the ecclesiastical requirements and applied them in the majority of churches, so it is highly unlikely that they decided to disregard them in random cases. The topography of the peninsula created several problems in engineering; difficulties that were created by the nature of the rocky ground. It is probable that the *technites* made this choice only when the topography did not allow them to follow the traditional orientation. But still all conclusions are regarded as tentative due to the lack of sources.

The majority of single aisled basilicas follow the west-east axis, where the altar is positioned on the same linear path as the entrance. The same happens in the free-cross type and in the double basilicas, although they have two entrances, one for each nave. In contrast, in the basilicas with a transverse sanctuary, because of the particularity of the plan, the entrance is placed on the west wall, but not across the sanctuary in order to facilitate better circulation inside the nave. A characteristic element of the main entrance is the conch above the lintel which has a totally supportive role in the masonry. In all examples where the door still exists it is of rectangular shape, wooden and austere.
The Stone Bench

The stone benches along the long walls of churches have appeared since the period of early Christian basilicas and were used as seating areas for the faithful. Examples were documented by Orlandos all around Greece. The internal space of small churches was not sufficient to place chairs or stools, so a small bench attached to the general construction of the church solved the issue of seating and did not block optical communication between the entrance and the sanctuary. The equivalent in contemporary churches are the wooden pews which are placed around the internal walls and are usually intended for the elderly in order to rest in the often long rituals of the Eastern dogma.

The stone bench is a stone surface of 30 cm height that runs along the internal walls. The fieldwork proved that the stone bench appeared during the early construction periods, mainly during the French and Catalan dominion. However, an exception is always part of the individual character of Palirochora and consequently, there is one example of a stone bench from the two periods of the Venetian conquest. The association of the stone bench with the two first construction periods reinforces the argument that the earlier churches were more refined and acquired many auxiliary elements while later on the construction was as undemanding as possible. The churches that have a stone bench are: Aghios Spyridon, the Koimesis of the Theotokos, Taxiarhich Michael, Aghios Ioannis Prodromos, Aghios Ioannis Theologos, Aghios Nikolaos the North, Aghios Dionysios, Aghios Charalampos, and Aghia Makrina (Figs. 60-61).

96 In the Eastern Orthodox Liturgy every action follows the typikon. There were only certain moments when the faithful were allowed to sit or kneel in order to pray. More information on the structure of the Liturgy and its development through the centuries can be found in P Evdokimov, Η Προσευχή της Ανατολικής Εκκλησίας: Η Λειτουργία του Αγίου Ιωάννου του Χρυσοστόμου, 3η Έκδοση, μετ. Μαρία Παπαζόχου & Δημήτριος Τζέρκος, Εκδόσεις Αποστολικής Διακονίας της Εκκλησίας της Ελλάδος, Athens, 1997, pp. 36-39, 54-55, 61, 83-93.
• **Arcading**

The system of arches is generally associated with the type of plan, the height, and the vaulting system of the church. During the Middle Byzantine period when the basic structure had to unite a circular pattern with a rectangular one, the necessity for arches, niches, and pendentives was immense.\(^{97}\) The height diminished gradually through arches which supported the weight of the dome. During the Late and Post Byzantine periods in small provincial churches, which resembled almost side chapels of the former large churches, the need for engineering support through arches deteriorated.

All the churches of Paliochora are small in length and their height does not exceed four metres, so there was no necessity for a large number of arches in order to support the construction. The pattern that was used was pairs of blind arches, 35-40 cm deep, on the long sides of the walls to support the lateral thrusts of the vault.\(^{98}\) Blind arcading was frequent in the external walls of Eastern regions and the internal walls of Middle Byzantine churches.\(^{99}\) During the Late Byzantine period they were a regular feature on Crete, Rhodes, and Cyprus.\(^{100}\) However, Bouras describes that in Mistras and Thessaloniki it was not a common feature during the Late Byzantine period, but increased its appearance in Macedonia and Serbia.\(^{101}\) The number of pairs of arches varies from zero to three according to the length and size of each church and did not follow any particular tendency linked to the four construction periods. The majority of examples, however, follow the pattern of two pairs of arches. The cases without arches

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101 Bouras, *Αρχιτεκτονική στο Βυζάντιο*, p. 422.
were usually extremely small churches such as Aghios Spyridon, Aghios Zacharias, and Aghios Demetrios. Of course there are no blind arches in the free-cross type, but only pendentives which smooth the transition from the dome to the vertical walls. The restricted number of arched surfaces had an impact on the interior decoration of churches, as the number of available surfaces was reduced. The main scenes were depicted either in the vault or in the blind arches, creating a new hierarchy and organisation.

- The Windows

Continuing with the appearance of the buildings, it has to be mentioned that the windows followed a specific order during the Middle Byzantine period. Usually they were united in blocks of two or three windows and always their top was arched. Apart from windows on the walls, there was a series of single windows on the tympanum of the dome. During the Late Byzantine period, churches became more intimate and the number of windows was reduced, except in specific cases of larger churches built in the Late Byzantine period such as Parigoritissa at Arta (thirteenth century), the Monastery of Chora (1321), Pantanassa (1428), and Perivleptos (fifteenth century) in Mistras.

Fieldwork and cataloguing demonstrated a very clear pattern regarding the use of windows. The window as a sole unit has a simple structure. The lintels and internal frames are made of wood and the opening is covered with glass. However, on many occasions the glass was broken. In the most important churches it has been replaced by the responsible Departments of Antiquities, but in the smaller, remote churches

102 For more details see p. 134, 178-79.
103 Bouras, Αρχιτεκτονική στο Βυζάντιο, p. 225.
104 Ibid., p. 232.
105 Papadopoulou, Αρτα, figs. 78, 80, 155, Bouras, Βυζαντινή Αρχιτεκτονική, figs. 272, 230.
damage is still observable. Until the second ruling of the Venetians the churches possessed one or two windows in the nave or a combination of one in the nave and one in the sanctuary. In all cases the total number of windows is two, with a sole exception dating from the thirteenth century, Archangel Michael, which possesses three windows. The windows of the nave are usually placed in the north or south wall and follow a conventional rectangular shape, with no arched ending, supported frequently by a wooden lintel. What is more interesting is the window of the sanctuary. The shape of the latter is narrow, but the sidelines are not vertical, and it is placed in the central axis of the conch, except for the cases that participated in the defense system of the city.\textsuperscript{106} The only other source of light was candles and tapers left by the faithful.

Frequency in the appearance of three windows, two in the nave and one in the sanctuary, arrived in the last phase of construction, during the second Venetian reign. Six out of fifteen churches followed the new tendency and the windows were placed in similar positions as in the previous centuries. In the category of churches with three windows are: Aghia Makrina, Aghioi Anargyroi, Aghios Eleftherios, Aghios Georgios and Demetrios, Timios Stavros, and the Church of the Metamorphosis. The number of churches with three windows shows, however, that it was not the dominant practice in the last construction phase. In addition, the churches, which acquire three windows, are the ones with larger dimensions. Therefore, the addition of the third window might serve a more practical reason, the proper lighting of the internal space, a matter of taste, and not a new architectural pattern. The possibility of personal choice of the donors and the technites cannot be omitted, but the conclusion is tentative due to lack of any other written evidence.

\textsuperscript{106} For more details see pp. 45-46.
The formation of the sanctuary

The sanctuary is the most sacred space in a Christian church. The orientation towards the east was a subject discussed and solved from the early years of ecclesiastical architecture, based on the letters of the Holy Fathers. The Hierarch Vasileios (330-379) wrote ‘πάντες ὁρῶμεν κατ’ ἀνατολάς ἐπί τῶν προσευχῶν, δι’ τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἐπιζητούμεν πατρίδα, τὸν Παράδεισον, ὁν ἐφύτευσεν ὁ Θεός ἐν Εδέμ κατ’ ἀνατολάς’ and Patriarch Germanus (715-730) ‘Τὸ κατ’ ἀνατολάς εὐχέσθαι παραδεδομένον ἐστὶ…’.

However, the original idea of orientating the church towards the East was oriental. The provincial character of the churches in Paliochora did not follow all the typical conventions, but did not succeed in changing the traditional placement of the altar. The only exceptions are Aghia Anna and Aghios Dionysios which have a south and north sanctuary respectively. Aghia Anna was built on the edge of the cliff, so the topography determined both the entrance and placement of the sanctuary and in the second case the former Diakonikon was used as a nave after the destruction of the primary church. This minor percentage of differentiation in the whole group of churches cannot be regarded as negligence towards Orthodox tradition.

Nevertheless, sometimes even in the churches which are orientated towards the east, the sanctuary is not placed on the exact axis pointing directly to the east. There is a slight turn towards the southeast or the northeast. Moutsopoulos has thoroughly researched this practice in the second part of his book and concluded that the technites did not construct the churches according to the north, but according to the sunrise and the position of the sun.

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107 FE Brightman, ‘Historia Mystagogica and Other Greek Commentaries on the Byzantine Liturgy’, *Journal of Theological Studies*, no. 9, 1908, pp. 248-67, p. 260. Also in Orlando, p. 85, ‘we all stare to the east during our prayers as we seek for our homeland, Heaven which God created towards the East’ and ‘praying towards the east is the generally accepted…’.
showing the movement of the sun and the angle of its rays during the winter and
summer months. He proceeds with the analysis according to solar diagrams; he claims
that the majority of the churches were erected during spring time, a fact extremely
important due to the absence of any primary sources or documents. His conclusion
seems logical as it would be easier to construct buildings in general during spring in
order to avoid the heat of summer and rain during winter. This practice is recorded on
various Greek regions during the medieval period such as Santorini, Sifnos, and
Veroia.\textsuperscript{110} Overall, the placement of the sanctuary constitutes a continuation of the
regular architectural practice.

Besides the importance of its orientation, there are several factors which determined
the complete appearance of a sanctuary; the shape and size of the actual space, the
existence or not of a templon, the nature of the altar, the Prothesis and the
Diakonikon.

The appearance of the sanctuary can be divided into two categories according to the
internal and external view, as the external aspect does not always coincide with the
formation of internal shape. The sanctuary in the east is marked externally by a semi-
circular or ribbed apse and two smaller apses flank the main form of the east wall of
the premises, the Prothesis and the Diakonikon.\textsuperscript{111} In all the churches of Paliochora the
internal shape of the sanctuary that hosts the altar is semi-circular covered by the
semi-circular conch of the apse. The majority of the churches follow this semi-circular
pattern externally as well. However, there are three cases which constitute an
exception and support a semi-hexagonal structure on the external side of the
sanctuary; Aghios Spyridon from the thirteenth century, Aghia Kyriaki from the

\textsuperscript{110} ΝΙ Koumanoudis, Η Λαϊκή Εκκλησιαστική Αρχιτεκτονική της Νήσου Θήρας, Athens, 1960, pp. 11-12, C
Pennas, p. 38 and Papazotos, p. 123.
\textsuperscript{111} Ousterhout, Builders, p. 13.
sixteenth century and Aghios Georgios and Demetrios of the Castle from the seventeenth century. Finally, there is a type of church we find with Aghios Georgios, Aghios Stephanos, and Aghioi Anargyroi where the sanctuary is enclosed in a rectangular box and is not apparent in the east elevation. These observations do not leave room for creating hypotheses of traditional choices or chronological preferences. I support the opinion that it was a matter of preference for the individual group of technites who made all preliminary decisions, except for the semi-hexagonal conch which had western affiliations. The two subsidiary conches are not visible in any of the churches from the east elevation. Due to the lack of width the conch of the Prothesis and the Diakonikon are placed on the north and south wall respectively.

The Prothesis is the conch on the north side of the altar which was used for the storage of vessels and the Diakonikon is the conch on the south of the altar used for the storage of liturgical vestments and sacred texts. On the islands of the Aegean only the Prothesis is frequently discovered in excavations of early examples. The Prothesis appeared with more consistency in the churches of Paliochora in the first construction period. However, there are a significant number of churches with no Prothesis; the Koimesis of Aghia Anna, the Panaghia of Giannoulis, Aghios Efthymios, Aghia Varvara, Aghios Stylianos and Aghia Anna. The Diakonikon was not a frequent characteristic of the early construction periods and appears to become a standard feature in the last centuries. If we observe the cases of Veroia and Kastoria, which developed almost in the same centuries and offered a vast number of parish churches

112 Semi-hexagonal conches are encountered in Veroia in the same period, Papazotos, p. 238.
113 This practice is followed in Syrian basilicas, Orlandos, Παλαιοχριστιανική Βασιλική, p. 47.
114 Stewart, Byzantine Architecture, p. 17.
115 Ousterhout, Kariye Camii, p. 13.
116 Orlandos, Παλαιοχριστιανική Βασιλική, p. 152.
the appearance of the Diakonikon is rarer in the beginning and is established after the sixteenth century.\textsuperscript{117}

The establishment of an *iconostasis* or templon was a major issue in Middle Byzantine architecture.\textsuperscript{118} It was an extremely important element, a piece of liturgical furniture and not an architectural tool, which was added after the so-called Macedonian Renaissance (843-1204), gained importance during the fourteenth century and became a focal point of the internal organisation of the Orthodox Church, even in modern times.\textsuperscript{119} Numerous studies have analysed the form its liturgical purpose and components.\textsuperscript{120} Its existence was stabilised in the Late Byzantine period and during the sixteenth century it became one of the most important parts of the Orthodox Church.\textsuperscript{121} In the first centuries of usage it was made of wood or metal. Later it became frequent to use marble and wood was established again only in the Post Byzantine era as the material of construction.\textsuperscript{122} Its appearance changed over the centuries and varied among cities. Initially it was divided in five rows and the spaces in between were filled with frescoes or icons. In the middle the Royal Door, which was usually decorated with the image of the Annunciation or the Deisis panel, gave access to the sanctuary.\textsuperscript{123} Such marble screens with the original divisions have seldom come down to modern times in perfect condition. A well known example is that of Saint Luke of Stiris in Phokis.\textsuperscript{124} In the Late and Post Byzantine period its form became stabilised,

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}[itemsep=0pt]
\item \textsuperscript{117} Papazotos, Βέροια, pp. 170-211, Paisidou, Καστορία, pl. 1-8.
\item \textsuperscript{118} Grabar, Byzantium, p. 73.
\item \textsuperscript{119} R Cormack, Oxford History of Art: Byzantine Art, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2000, p. 151.
\item \textsuperscript{121} Cormack, p. 151.
\item \textsuperscript{122} Bouras, Αρχιτεκτονική στο Βυζάντιο, p. 74.
\item \textsuperscript{123} A Tradigo, Icons and Saints of the Eastern Orthodox Church, trans. S. Sartarelli, The J. Paul Getty Trust Los Angeles, 2006, p. 14 and Ouspensky, p. 59.
\item \textsuperscript{124} Krautheimer, Byzantine Architecture, p. 473.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
it was constructed by local stones, and painted with specific sacred imagery, which will be analysed under the title ‘Iconography of the Sanctuary’.\textsuperscript{125}

The standarisation of the iconostasis in Late and Post Byzantine churches can be mapped throughout the churches of Paliochora. During the first centuries of construction which belong to the transitional period, some churches are not supplemented with a templon, such as the Archangel Michael and the Panaghia of Giannoulis. In later examples the appearance of the templon becomes necessary until the seventeenth century when the dominance is complete. Aghia Varvara and Aghios Zacharias are the two cases without a templon to separate the nave from the altar and there is no evidence that one existed and was destroyed as happened with the twin basilica of Aghios Georgios and Demetrios of the Castle. The majority of iconostases was constructed from stone and was immovable. Nevertheless, there are some examples of wooden ones. The wooden ones are contemporary additions in important churches for the city, probably to substitute for a former stone one that was destroyed (Fig. 62).

Furthermore, there are matters to be discussed concerning the actual structure of the templon. The types of templon encountered in Paliochora are differentiated by the number of Holy Doors, one or two, and the existence of a pediment or a flat ending (Fig. 63). This time there is a chronological relationship in the frequency of these types. The format of the two doors appears for the first time in the fourteenth century with one example, Aghios Georgios Katholikos (Fig. 64). In the sixteenth century it appears twice in Aghioi Theodoroi and Aghios Charalampos and it is standardized

during the seventeenth century when the majority of churches follow this formation. The odd characteristic that becomes a trademark of the churches of Paliochora in the seventeenth century is the actual placement of the two doors. Instead of being symmetrically distributed towards the vertical axis, a fact observable only in Timios Stavros, there is one central door while the second is moved towards the north wall leaving awkward spaces for the standard iconography that appears on the templon (Fig. 65). The same pattern is observed in the majority of churches in Kastoria dated to the same century.\textsuperscript{126} The extremity of the templon is either flat or ends in a pediment. The pediment type increases its frequency towards the last centuries (Figs. 66-67). Usually, the sanctuary is created on another level, one or more steps higher than the nave, in order to underline further the division between the two internal spaces. In Paliochora all the churches which possess a templon follow this pattern of separation.

The character of the sanctuary is dependent on several factors which in the case of Paliochora shows chronological evolution, related to the general characteristics of Late and Post Byzantine architecture and not its various conquerors.

- **The Floor**

There is not much to discuss regarding the floor of the churches in Paliochora. The flooring of the churches is one of the elements which have suffered the most extensive damage. Its surface is usually covered by uneven flat tiles or black and white tiles that have been added during a later restoration (Fig. 68). There are also examples where there is no indication of floor and the visitor steps on the ground (Fig. 69). There is only one case, Aghioi Theodoroi, in which the floor includes a geometrical motif with

\textsuperscript{126} Paisidou, Καστοριά, pp. 186-193.
foliage created with colourful tiles (Fig. 70). Archaeologists date that to a later period, but no thorough investigation has been carried out so far.\textsuperscript{127} Indeed, the state of the tiles and its vibrant colours in contrast to the condition of frescoes, indicate that the floor was added at a later time. However, it may be a later addition, but the motif could be based in the original one, as a similar motif is found in the Church of the Holy Apostles at Pera Chorio on Cyprus dated to the thirteenth century.\textsuperscript{128}

**Conclusion**

This chapter has presented an architectural analysis of the settlement with discussion from two different perspectives; Paliochora as a unit, a cohesive urban fabric, and Paliochora as a group of thirty-four remaining Late and Post Byzantine churches. The settlement has been studied, for the first time, under the frame of four different construction periods dictated by the alteration of conquerors; the French dukes, the Catalans, the first and second Venetian conquest. The available bibliography examines the existing churches as sole cases without bringing to the forefront the contribution, continuation or interruption of architectural progress in relation to the different administrative system; and this is the gap this thesis aims to cover.

The general impression formed by studying the architectural production of Paliochora, in accordance to the historical circumstances, is that its glory was deteriorating with the passing of centuries, due to political and ecclesiastical decisions. Three events influenced the life of Paliochora in terms of defining its role in the Aegean Sea. First, the two destructions in 1502 and 1537, which caused a major setback in the development of the city where several parts had to be re-built, the transference of

\textsuperscript{127} Κλιμοπούλου, *Παλαιοχώρα*, p. 59.
Saint George’s holy relic in Venice in 1462, which deleted Paliochora from the map of pilgrimage destinations, and finally, the transference of the Cathedral of the diocese to Nafplion in the beginning of the seventeenth century.

The study of the urban development and individual architectural specificities of the thirty-four Late and Post Byzantine churches in Paliochora shows that the architectural production of Paliochora was governed by different canons in the different periods, linked to the secular and economic situation, but personal taste as well. The period until the end of the fifteenth century when the city was governed by the French and Catalans produced the most elaborate results in the ecclesiastical architecture of the island. It was the period when the hill acquired the basic form of a city and Paliochora became a functional place of habitation with precise structures and organised activities. The castle and the religious, social, and commercial centres defined boundaries in public space and were mainly planned around the churches erected in this period. By the time the Venetians arrived, Paliochora had accumulated the character of a city with a separation of power and discrimination of functions. The preference for adding courtyards, belfries, stone benches, marble inscriptions or sculpted decorative motifs, which are all auxiliary elements in church building, point out that under the French and Catalan dominion the city passed through a period of economic stability, which led to the development of architecture and art and gave the opportunity to the masons to produce conscientious results.

On the contrary, the period of the Venetian dominion was early interrupted by severe turbulence and destruction caused by the two invasions of Reis and Barbarosssa. They were the main conquerors from 1451 until the abandonment of the city (1451-1540, 1654-1715), but they did not enjoy a continuous period of dominance, as they were continuously exchanging power with the Turks. The Venetians were constantly fighting
wars in their conquered territories around Greece, had to establish their state in larger acquisitions, such as Crete and Cyprus, and the small island of Aegina might easily not have been a priority at the time.\textsuperscript{129} Major evidence is the appointment of rectores who were not constantly controlled by Venice, a fact which led to the first rebel act in 1533.\textsuperscript{130} In a period of no administrative stability it is difficult both for the conquerors to apply a unified policy and value the potential of a region and for the citizens to adapt to constantly changing rules. In addition, it is a challenging process to establish relationships between the administration and local people and set boundaries to the level of freedom of the latter. The difference is obvious during the second Venetian dominion when locals and conquerors worked together for the fortification of the city and ecclesiastical architecture flourished in Paliochora.

The landscape as observed in the maps of Paliochora shows a division between Westerns and the Aeginians, seen in other examples in Greece, such as Mistras and large cities in Crete.\textsuperscript{131} Although the absence of secular architecture, except for the castle, is problematic, the areas chosen for church construction show a clear concentration of the Orthodox citizens on the slopes of the hill. What is important regarding the influence of the political status quo is that towards the French and Catalan dominion, the churches were built further from the castle and the top of the hill, while when the Venetians entered the scene, the citizens started to move gradually on upper levels, until the point of building a double church inside the castle premises.

\textsuperscript{130} Miller, Frankish Conquest, p. 245.  
\textsuperscript{131} Bouras, Βυζαντινή Αρχιτεκτονική, pp. 193-194, Georgopoulou, Colonies, p. 43-47.
Architectural production was governed by individual choices and was funded privately, as the Venetians were preoccupied with the fortification of their properties and the castle. Another important event which led to the construction of small size churches, which functioned mainly as parish churches is the transference of the religious centre to Nafplion in the seventeenth century. In the light of this, Paliochora became a totally provincial region without any ecclesiastical authority. However, church construction not only remains strong, but the number of churches is noteworthy.

During the Venetian dominion the appearance of city changed gradually. Aghios Georgios Katholikos lost its religious purpose after the transference of the holy relic to Venice. The Cathedral did not maintain its role as the nucleous of faith because the centre of the diocese became Nafplion, and last but not least, the trade market of Aghios Ioannis Theologos was abandoned for another location, closer to the commercial roads. The majority of its activities ceased to exist or were devaluated. Gradually Paliochora gained the style of a more provincial city, dependent on its conquerors or administration officials from other larger cities. The ‘community’ of churches facilitated the needs of the locals and in a sense all began to acquire the same role except for the two monasteries, Aghios Dionysios and Aghia Kyriaki.

The architecture of the churches gradually became less elaborate, but the technites did not fail to incorporate certain changes that occurred in the wider Greek peninsula. For example, the formation of the templon became more complicated with two doors and a pediment, the Prothesis was upgraded to a standard feature, and the Diakonikon was almost always present. The number of windows increased sporadically during the last phase of construction, but the number of examples, five out of fifteen, does not create a pattern and is attributed to personal choice and larger dimensions of the particular churches. The appearance of barrel and pointed vault is observed since the first
construction period. But, a preference in pointy edges was noted during the construction under the Venetian eye.

Finally, there are certain characteristics which were not influenced by chronological affiliations, were not associated with the origin of the conquerors and changed randomly example by example. The existence of a reinforcement arch was followed at different moments in the architectural history of Paliochora. Furthermore, the ultimate characteristic of Paliochora’s architectural style was the type of stones extracted by the local quarry. This was a fact that never changed throughout its construction phases. On the other hand, the orientation of the churches remained faithful to the Orthodox canon of east-west axis; although the choice to calculate the east based on the position of the sun altered the result slightly according to the seasons.

To sum up, although the dimensions and external impression of the churches were almost identical, the identity of Paliochora can be divided into two categories; less but more elaborate buildings under the French and Catalans, and construction of public spaces with certain functions, numerous but more private spaces during the Venetian conquest. This change was in direct relation to the political history of this particular island. Although the primary impression, based on the external view of similar masonries, is that the architectural style is homogenous, indeed a close examination of the remaining buildings leads to the conclusion that its architecture is diverse. Unfortunately, the study of architecture relies only to ecclesiastical examples. Had domestic buildings survived, they would have made a significant contribution to this research.
CHAPTER II: The Typology of Ecclesiastical Architectural Forms in Relation to their Function

The five types of church plan

The group of thirty-four Late and Post Byzantine churches of Paliochora is divided into four categories according to their plan; the single-aisled basilica, the basilica with a transverse sanctuary, the double basilica and the domed free-cross. A fifth type is represented by a single example, the Cathedral or Aghios Dionysios, and is a basilica with a side aisle and a dome that was completed after two transformations and restorations. The appearance of each church type is unrelated to a specific chronological period, and therefore a specific conqueror, as examples of all categories exist in all four construction periods, from the inception of the settlement until its final abandonment. The only exception is the domed free-cross which was not used after the fourteenth century.

If the choice of plan was not a gradual evolution of architectural methods then the patrons had to choose the church type and its location based on other criteria. Initiated by the research of Moutsopoulos who vaguely suggested that each type of church had certain functions, this study aims to present a thorough analysis of the five plans and base any argument regarding their function on architectural or iconographic proof along with the few written sources which provide information on the subject.¹

In the second part of his monograph, Moutsopoulos devoted an extensive section to the five types, presenting their evolution over the entire architectural history of

His analysis, although it provided useful plans of different parts of the nave and their proportions, did not focus on his case study and offered a purely technical evaluation of specific church types. In the meantime, he associated them with certain functions, but presented them in an indisputable manner, leaving no room for discussion. Furthermore, his conclusions are tentative considering the fact that there are no primary sources which provide firm arguments and that he did not support his view with tangible proof based on architectural observation. Therefore his conclusions tend to generalize and may be valid only in certain cases, with the ultimate example of the double basilica type which is the most problematic, in terms of identification of its function.

The approach towards the churches changes at this point. The previous chapter treated them strictly through their construction groups and presented the chronological evolution of the urban fabric and several individual architectural specificities. In this chapter we focus on the perspective of different church types and their role in the religious life of Paliochora. The question that needs to be answered is whether the citizens and masons made conscious choices regarding architectural forms, relating them to certain functions, or if these choices were random. The individual analysis of each one of the five types incorporates elements of sociological analysis and presents the spectrum of religious activities that took place in the city of Paliochora.

This chapter completes the first part of the thesis devoted to the architectural identity of Paliochora and draws a full picture of the evolution of the settlement in all aspects; from the general picture to the individual unit. This will establish the basis on which to proceed with the analysis of the iconography in the second part.

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2 Μούτσοπουλος, Παληχώρα, pp. 198-240.
3 Ibid., pp. 216-231.
The single-aisled basilica

The single-aisled basilica is probably one of the oldest forms of Christian ecclesiastical architecture and appeared in the eastern Christian territories in the fourth century. It originated in Mesopotamia and Syria and was transferred to Greece though contact with Asia Minor. It was the most elementary representative of church types, a basic unit for the creation of more complicated ecclesiastical types. The oldest examples in the Greek mainland are found in Corinth and Epidaurus from the fourth century onwards. Gradually, the single-aisled basilica was abandoned for more elaborate floor plans, but it was finally re-used in the last years of the Byzantine Empire and more specifically during the so-called Palaeologian Renaissance. In the Late and Post Byzantine period it became extremely popular due to the lack of funding and workshops in remote areas of the remaining territories of the Empire. In addition, it became a characteristic of the regions under Venetian dominion. Examples with one aisle, domed or barrel vaulted, also existed in the majority of regions in Greece such as Kastoria, Veroia, Crete, Cyprus and generally many islands of the Aegean Sea. Krautheimer states that another reason for this return could be the opposition to the sophisticated court architecture of the Empire. Finally, Gratziou provides a list of arguments for the preference of the single-aisled basilica. It was an easy solution for

7 For more information see pp. 33-36.
the builders, repetition had brought engineering knowledge, and it had a neutral appearance accepted both by Latins and Greeks.\textsuperscript{11}

The single-aisled basilica is the most commonly encountered example of church plan in the city of Paliochora with twenty-three surviving examples.\textsuperscript{12} The basic structure consists of a rectangular box covered by a barrel or pointed vault (Fig. 71).\textsuperscript{13} The oldest securely dated example is the Archangel Michael built in 1293 according to the inscription presented in the previous chapter (Fig. 72). The list of this church type according to the time of estimated construction includes also: Aghia Ekaterini, the Koimesis of Aghia Anna, Timios Stavros, the Koimesis of the Theotokos, Aghios Spyridon (period of the French dukes), Aghios Ioannis Prodromos (Catalan dominion), Aghia Varvara, Aghioi Theodoroi, Aghios Athanasios, Aghios Zacharias (first Venetian occupation), Aghios Nikolaos next to the Cathedral, Aghia Anna, Aghios Eleftherios, Aghios Menas, Aghia Makrina, Aghioi Anargyroi, Aghios Demetrios, the Church of the Metamorphosis, Aghios Georgios, Aghios Kyrekos, Aghios Stylianos, and Aghia Kryfti (second Venetian occupation) (Figs. 73-78).

The available sources do not attribute any specific character to the role of single-aisled basilicas (Fig. 79). However, their small scale, the absence of elaborate architectural characteristics, such as the courtyard or the belfry, which were linked with prominent churches in the previous chapter, and their position on the hill, away from the core of the city or the castle, point towards the direction of a parish church, built by the locals to facilitate their immediate religious needs. Their position was only affiliated to household dwellings. Churches such as Aghios Dionysios, Aghios Georgios Katholikos, Aghios Eleftherios, Aghios Menas, Aghia Makrina, Aghioi Anargyroi, Aghios Demetrios, the Church of the Metamorphosis, Aghios Georgios, Aghios Kyrekos, Aghios Stylianos, and Aghia Kryfti (second Venetian occupation) (Figs. 73-78).

\textsuperscript{11} Gratzlou, Κρήτη, p. 124.
\textsuperscript{12} This number is increased if the churches of the whole island are added. Comparative analysis of the churches of Paliochora with the Late and Post Byzantine churches of the island can be the subject matter of further research.
\textsuperscript{13} For more details, see pp. 61-63.
Aghios Nikolaos the North, Aghia Kyriaki that were related to certain functions had larger dimensions and were built on strategic parts, on the two main roads of the city. The only exception of a single-aisled basilica to this was Timios Stavros which was the principal church of the main square during the last phase of Paliochora and main church for all social events.

The construction of new parish churches usually responded to the changes in population in order to cover the needs of the new neighbourhoods created according to the development of the city. That is why some parts of the hill seem to be more crowded, documenting the areas where domestic life was concentrated. According to the researchers who studied equivalent settlements in the Greek mainland (Kastoria, Veroia), each church was used by the locals inhabiting the area around it and their construction was dictated by the movement of the population. It was only on large feast days or for social events that the parishioners gathered in the more central churches which had larger interiors and exterior space. Generally, the single-aisled basilicas can be characterised as intimate anonymous churches serving the needs of the locals.

Some of the single-aisled basilicas are linked to certain local families. Georgopoulou supports this argument by underlining that the Latins at least in the first centuries of their dominion in Greece did not warrant parish churches, which served the predominantly indigenous populations in the countryside, but were preoccupied only with fortifications and erections of Latin ones. The family names associated with

14 See further on this chapter.
15 Details on p. 48.
church patronage are Vryennios, Solomou, Spyridou, and Varoucha.\textsuperscript{18} Obviously, many of the inscriptions have been erased by the lime layers that cover a large area of the internal walls.\textsuperscript{19} Apart from the names linked with the architectural or iconographic programmes of the basilicas there are some inscriptions revealing information on important historical events in the history of the city. For example in the Church of Aghioi Anargyroi (Fig. 80) there is an inscription describing a pirate invasion:

\begin{quote}
1709, 5 παρτίου, οἱ πειρατές ἀπήγαγαν τὸν Ἰωάννη Χαλδέο μέσα στη νύχτα\textsuperscript{20}
\end{quote}

In Aghios Demetrios (Fig. 81) there is a similar example referring to the invasion of Barbarossa in 1537:

\begin{quote}
'Ὁ Μπάρμππαρ[ό]σας / Κούρσαψε τὴν Παλαιαχώρα / Εξεντέρισε τοὺς Λαδάιους/…/'\textsuperscript{21}
\end{quote}

These inscriptions are on the walls of those churches which constituted part of the external perimeter and are regarded as part of the defence system. The existence of inscriptions mentioning fearful events in the life of Paliachora affirms that these churches had a special role in difficult situations. It also means that these parish churches had a communal character, without any authority linked to the conquerors.\textsuperscript{22}

The practice of describing invasions or violent acts on the walls of churches is encountered in other provincial settlements in Greece. For example in the region of Veroia the locals also commemorated the fall of the city in 1433 to the Ottomans with

\begin{itemize}
\item [18] These names are known from inscriptions found in the churches of Aghios Athanasios, Aghios Demetrios, and the Archangel Michael. They are mentioned in the section on 'Marble Decoration', pp. 68-72. There is a possibility of further research through studying of the Venetian archives, but currently it is outside the parameters of this thesis due to large amount of material that has to be covered and the constraints of this thesis.
\item [19] Further archaeological involvement and conservation practices may reveal new inscriptions on the walls and the frescoes.
\item [20] From Angelos Prokopiou's notes, 'In 1709, 5\textsuperscript{th} of March, the pirates kidnapped John Chaldeo during the night'.
\item [21] ΚΜ Αγινακος, \textit{Ανέκδοτα Επιγραφαί και Χαράγματα ἐκ Βυζαντίνων και Μεταβυζαντίνων Μνημείων της Ελλάδος}, Athens, 1957, pp. 52-3, "Barbarossa/invaded Paliachora/removed the guts of the Ladaioi'.
\item [22] Their role in the defence system, which was presented in Chapter 1, shows that they could hide inside these small churches and observe the valley for possible invaders.
\end{itemize}
an inscription on the external wall of a parish church, Aghios Georgios Mikros, dated to the fifteenth century.\textsuperscript{23} This practice was also followed in larger cities. There is a carved inscription in the Acheiropoiitos church in Thessaloniki commemorating the fall of Thessaloniki to Murat in 1430.\textsuperscript{24}

However, the fact that they belong in the same church type does not mean that all their architectural specificities are identical (Fig. 82). The group can be subdivided into further categories according to differences in construction and their architectural specificities. An analysis undertaken by the Architectural School of Athens during the programme of recording the existing churches presented the first subdivision of single-aisled basilicas according to the engineering methods followed to support the roof in the main core of the building.\textsuperscript{25} According to this information the churches are divided into eight sub-groups referring to the number of piers and consoles that support the upper part. Explicitly there are churches with: a) plain construction, (Aghia Ekaterini, Aghia Varvara, Aghioi Theodoroi, Aghios Zacharias, Aghios Kyrekos, Aghia Ktyfti, Koimesis of Aghia Anna), b) one reinforcement arch supported by piers without consoles (Koimesis of the Theotokos, Aghios Menas), c) one reinforcement arch supported by piers and consoles (Aghia Makrina, Aghioi Anargyroi, Church of the Metamorphosis, Aghios Ioannis Prodromos, Aghios Eleftherios, Aghios Athanasios), d) one reinforcement arch without piers (Archangel Michael, Aghios Spyridon, Aghios Nikolaos next to the Cathedral), e) one reinforcement arch supported only by consoles (Aghios Demetrios), f) two reinforcement arches supported by piers without consoles (Aghios Stylianos, Timios Stavros), g) two reinforcement arches supported by piers and consoles (Aghios Georgios), and h) two reinforcement arches without piers (Aghia

\textsuperscript{23} Papazotos, \textit{Βέροιοι}, p. 110.
\textsuperscript{24} A Vakalopoulos, \textit{Ιστορία του Νέου Ελληνισμού Α'}, Thessaloniki, 1974, p. 252.
\textsuperscript{25} The project was undertaken throughout the 1990’s. All the plans that exist in the database are part of the material produced during this programme and can be found in the archives of the Architectural School in Athens.
Anna). Obviously the separation could be done using a number of architectural characteristics, for example the type of vaulting or the number of blind arches. However, this division was chosen according to the prototypes of the Middle Byzantine period in the Greek peninsula, when churches were divided according to the number of piers that supported the dome.26

**Basilica with a transverse sanctuary**

The next type under examination is based on the basilica plan, but includes a structural alteration; a transverse sanctuary. Moutsopoulos primarily tried to identify whether this turn of the sanctuary was intentional or imposed by topographical reasons. He concluded that it was a conscious choice in order to add a new distinctive type to the architecture of Paliochora, the one of a martyrion.27 The counter argument was based on the canon for eastern orientation of the sanctuary, a process occasionally difficult due to the uneven ground.28 However, this hypothesis was problematic due to the fact that the technites did manage to build twenty-three single-aisled basilicas with correct orientation on the same area.29 Therefore, Moutsopoulos’ supported his theory on two arguments. First, the basilica with a transverse sanctuary had a specific function in Byzantine architecture since the Early Christian period, and second, there are inscriptions and surviving iconography, which point in this specific direction.

The basilica with a transverse sanctuary was related to martyrria since the Roman times, when additional burial spaces were added into the primary nucleus of churches.

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26 The division followed four types: composite church with four piers, semi-composite church with four piers, simple church with four piers, simple church with two piers – GA Prokopiou, Ο Κοσμολογικός Συμβολισμός στην Αρχιτεκτονική του Βυζαντινού Ναού, Πύρινος Κόσμος, Athens, 1980, pp. 81-82.
27 Moutsopoulos, Παλαιάχώρα, p. 212.
28 Ι Κλιμοπούλου, Η Παλαιάχώρα της Άγινας-Ανάδειξη Αρχαιολογικού Χώρου, Ε.Μ.Π., Athens, 2008, p. 79.
29 Moutsopoulos, Παλαιάχωρα, pp. 93-102.
Originally funerary memorials, martyrria were instituted in the countryside, but later they were transferred to cities, so they became part of the basilicas and relics were placed under the altar. The martyrion can be regarded as the evolution of the Roman mausoleum in which centralised plans were popular. In Eastern territories, this plan appears around the beginning of the fourth century. Outside Mesopotamia it was found in the Tür 'Abdin (South East Turkey), Armenia, and the Hauran (Syria/Jordan). The necessity for such an architectural addition was caused by the rapid development of the adoration of the Christian martyrs.

The primary form of contextualisation of a martyrion in a basilica through a transverse axis was realised differently from the paradigm encountered in Paliochora. In the early Christian phase the transverse zone interrupted the nave and divided it into two parts, adding a second rectangular block to the main aisle, creating the shape of a cross. Such examples exist in the Greek peninsula, including the basilica of Dafnousion Lokridos, of Paramuthia and Dodoni (fourth century). In contrast, the type that was used in Paliochora as a Martyrion had this transverse zone on the part of the sanctuary and resembled the shape of the Greek Letter gamma (Γ). The transverse placement of the sanctuary allowed the parallel hosting of a liturgy and veneration of the holy relic. As observed in the plans (Figs. 83-84) the turning of the sanctuary creates a small space on the north side of the church, a kind of division in the nave. In addition, the south wall of the sanctuary is prolonged, offering more privacy. The relic was placed

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under one of the two blind arches on the east wall. Therefore, visitors could move circularly, in an anti-clockwise manner, pay their respects and exit without interrupting a possible ongoing liturgy in the north part of the nave. This form of the transverse placement of the apse is found later in the sixth century in the Martyrion of Corinth. The transformation can be explained due to the facts that have been discussed already, such as geographical differences, local traditions, and in the specific case of Paliochora, the size of the churches. Churches that were used as martyria had to use new structures in order to improve the circulation of the faithful, but not transgress the basic canons of construction; orientation and hierarchy of internal space.

The basilica with a transverse sanctuary appeared in Paliochora under Catalan dominion in the second construction period when the city started to create its own distinctive style with two examples; Aghios Georgios Katholikos and Aghios Nikolaos the North. A third example is dated much later to the seventeenth century; Aghios Stephanos.

The published work of Moutsopoulos and Prokopiou states that the two churches from the fourteenth century served as martyria, but the same sources are not so positive about the third case. Once more it is demonstrated that important edifices for religious and communal life were erected during the Catalan period and this confirms the idea of a prosperous period under Catalan domination.

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37 Ibid.
The first Martyrion constructed in the fourteenth century was Aghios Georgios Katholikos. The original dedication of the church was Panaghia Mesosporitissa.\(^{39}\) Later, it was renamed Aghios Georgios Katholikos to commemorate the holy relics in its possession, but it also kept its original name of the Panaghia. Over the centuries its name changed again and became the Panaghia of Forou. The locals called it Foritissa.\(^{40}\) The adjective *Katholikos*, which means Catholic in Greek, was given during the Catalan conquest.\(^{41}\) A later inscription commemorates the day that the church was given back to the Orthodox. Gitakos placed this inscription in the period 1715-1821 on the paleographic evidence.\(^{42}\)

\[\text{Ὁ Θείος Ναός τῆς (Παναγίας) τῆς Μεσοσπορίτισσας/Τὸν ἔξαναπήραμε ἀπὸ τοὺς Φράγκους/οἱ Χριστιανοὶ}\]^\(^{43}\)

The hypothesis that this church was a Martyrion is discussed in the *Chronicle of Morea* a fourteenth-century historical text which narrates events from the establishment of the Crusaders on the Greek mainland, published in 1904.\(^{44}\) This primary source offers the information that the head of Aghios Georgios was transferred from Livadia, central Greece, to Aegina and that people travelled from Athens to Aegina in order to pay their respects to the relic which was kept in a central church.\(^{45}\) Buondelmonti, who visited the island in 1410, confirmed in his traveller’s accounts the existence of this relic on Aegina.\(^{46}\) The head of Aghios Georgios was held there and attracted pilgrims from various places, before it was exchanged for money with the Venetians. During the

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\(^{39}\) Μουτσοπούλος, *Παληγώρα*, p. 97.

\(^{40}\) Gitakos, *Επιγραφάι*, p. 49.


\(^{42}\) Gitakos, *Επιγραφάι*, p. 50.

\(^{43}\) ‘It was sanctified with Holy Water/the sacred church of the (Panaghia) Mesosporitissa/we took it back from the Franks/the Christians’.


\(^{46}\) C Buondelmonti, *Description des îles de l’Archipel*, Paris, 1897 p. 100.
fifteenth century the citizens desperately needed money to improve the condition of their fortifications, their main protection against the pirates, and they succumbed to the Venetian demand to sell the relic which was transferred to Venice, to San Giorgio Maggiore in 1462.\(^7\) Georgopoulou records the acts of transference of holy relics to Venice as an act of supremacy over Byzantium.\(^8\) Although, there was no specific clarification about the name of the church that hosted the relic, the indication comes from the change of name from Panaghia Mesosporitissa to Aghios Georgios Katholikos and the reintroduction of the primary name during the Ottoman conquest.

The second church of this type was also erected during the same period; Aghios Nikolaos the North (Figs. 84-85). Although Aghios Georgios Katholikos and Aghios Nikolaos the North belong in the same church type, there are some differences in their structure. Aghios Georgios Katholikos has a longer nave and consequently needs three pairs of arches to support the vault instead of the two which are necessary in Aghios Nikolaos the North. In the second case there is no historical proof that confirms the existence of a particular relic in the church, and the name of the church cannot be firmly connected to one.\(^9\) The fresco depicted on the semi-circular surface of the arch above the supposed place of the shrine is a fresco depicting four young martyrs in identical positions. In their right hand each holds the gold Latin cross of their martyrdom, which is an element of influence from the West.\(^50\) The fact that there are no available written sources on this monument leads only to tentative conclusions about its function, based on the association of the type with the function of a Martyrion and the similar example of Aghios Georgios Katholikos. During the fourteenth century all types of church were constructed, so it would have been easier for the masons to

\(^9\) Further research in the Venetian and Catalan archives might reveal a connection to another holy relic.
construct a single-aisled basilica instead of one with a transverse sanctuary, unless it served a specific function. Last but not least, Aghios Nikolaos was built close to a square, the square of Aghios Ioannis Theologos, indicating that for a certain reason the church needed open space to host large numbers of people.

The single-aisled basilica with a transverse sanctuary disappeared in the next centuries and returned one last time during the last Venetian phase. Historically speaking, the sixteenth century was not a peaceful time encouraging pilgrimage, due to the invasions of Reis (1502) and Barbarossa (1537). The relic of Aghios Georgios was already in Venetian possession and the whole movement venerating martyrs had decreased around the area.

These are the main arguments questioning the function of the third and last church which adapted this specific floor plan in the seventeenth century; Aghios Stephanos (Fig. 86). A view suggests that possibly Aghios Stephanos was not used as a martyrion, even though it had the appearance of one. Its appearance might be justified as the masons’ idea to imitate an older type of Paliochora and create a new church modelled on Aghios Georgios Katholikos or Aghios Nikolaos the North. This could represent just a simple, architectural choice of a more complex type from the past in order to break the monotonous result of building only single-aisled basilicas in the seventeenth century. It is worth raising this possibility even if it is impossible to prove.

On the other hand there is a specific architectural element that can provide some answers. The element of the courtyard did not appear often after the fourteenth century and in the cases that it did, it was always linked with a high status church, as

51 Klimopoulou, Παλαιοχώρα, p. 34.
shown in the previous chapter. Aghios Stephanos and Timios Stavros are the only seventeenth-century churches with a courtyard. Timios Stavros functioned as the commercial centre, thus a courtyard was a necessary element to host all economic transactions. Since there was no tradition of creating courtyards during the seventeenth century there must have been another reason for placing one adjacent to Aghios Stephanos. Unfortunately, there is no iconographic aid which can provide auxiliary evidence such as in Aghios Nikolaos the North. The case of Aghios Stephanos will always create questions and disagreements in academic research regarding its function, unless new inscriptions or other types of evidence are discovered in a further archaeological excavation.

Following the cataloguing made by the Architectural School of Athens, even if the type of single-aisled basilica with a transverse sanctuary has only three examples, each one of them can be placed as a separate type according to the criteria of engineering particularities. Aghios Nikolaos the North has one reinforcement arch and the vault is supported by piers, Aghios Stephanos has one reinforcement arch but is supported by consoles and finally Aghios Georgios Katholikos has two reinforcement arches and is supported by piers.

The domed free-cross church

Originally the free-cross type appeared during the early Christian period inspired by Roman mausolea. In the fifth century, according to Sotiriou, it was transferred to Armenia, Cappadocia and Syria and gradually to the whole of Asia Minor. Its appearance in Greece was delayed and there are only a few examples during the

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52 See pp. 57-59.
53 Moutsopoulos, Παλησία, pp. 93, 100, 102.
Middle Byzantine period mainly in the Aegean, the Peloponnese and the western mainland. Later during the Late Byzantine period the free-cross plan started to be appreciated and was used more frequently than the Greek cross-in-square domed church, which dominated the Middle Byzantine period. The two types seem to have had a parallel development in Byzantine architectural history, with different phases of transition and were chosen according to personal preferences of the builders. For example, the domed-free cross type became typical on Cyprus during the twelfth century. The fact is, however, that the cross-in-square type provided better solutions for safer construction as the squinches became the key factor for the support of the dome providing a great example of ingenuity; an element that is not present in the free-cross church.

In his survey on Paliochora, in the part devoted to the domed free-cross type, Moutsopoulo presented the engineering advantages of both types and their categorisation in different groups according to the relationship between the four arms of the cross, their placement and size. He, also, spent a whole sub-chapter on the general problem of bracing the dome accompanied with sketches of the morphological differences that exist across Greece and the Balkans. Finally, he documented the evolution of the type but fails to contextualise the examples from his case study, an element that will be covered in this thesis.

In the settlement of Paliochora two churches erected during the first and second construction periods follow a type resembling the Greek type; Taxiarchis Michael and Gratziou, Κρήτη, p. 230-231.
57 'Squinch is a pseudo-pendentive arch springing across the angles of a square and changes the space in order to be domed by an octagon', C Stewart, Byzantine Legacy, G. Allen and Unwin Ltd, London, 1947, p. 49.
Aghios Ioannis Theologos (Figs. 87-88). The fact that the appearance of this plan was an echo of the previous period is suggested by its disappearance after the pause in ecclesiastical construction that occurred in the fifteenth century. During the two Venetian periods no church with a dome was erected. In the first centuries when knowledge and engineering techniques from the Middle Byzantine period were still alive, the form of a cross shaped church appeared on the hill of Paliochora, as a linking point to the past. Nevertheless, when the historical situation compelled a break, the link to cosmopolitan architecture was lost and there was a loss of two generations of workshops.\textsuperscript{59} The local \textit{technites} focused on the new methods of construction which preferred simple lines and buildings that focused more on function and not on the beauty and grandeur of the exterior. A significant decrease of the dome is observed also on Crete, the most important Venetian colony in the Mediterranean.\textsuperscript{60}

In the first and oldest example, Taxiarchis Michael, the cross form is clearly identified from the exterior and is not inscribed on a square base. The four arms of the cross shape are distinguished and create the Latin version of it, which means that the vertical axis is longer than the horizontal, creating an uneven shape. Equivalent examples are Evangelismos Abdou at Pediada on Crete and Christ Saviour at Mylopotamos (thirteenth century).\textsuperscript{61} On the contrary, Aghios Ioannis Theologos is a combination of the cross-in-square type and the free cross. The north and west arms of the cross are inscribed in a rectangle which does not continue on the other sides leaving the south arm and the external view of the sanctuary free. Observing the plan the four arms are almost equally sized, creating the Greek shape cross this time.\textsuperscript{62} Similar churches were a mixture of types observed in Asia Minor and Thessaloniki, for

\textsuperscript{59} Rodley, \textit{Byzantine Art}, p. 279.
\textsuperscript{60} Gratziou, \textit{Κρήτη}, p. 18.
\textsuperscript{61} Ibid., pp. 231-232.
\textsuperscript{62} East=2.62 m, South=0.95 m, West=2.54 m, North=0.95 m
example the church of Alatza-Giala and Hosios David from the sixth century. Chronologically it is to be expected that the first case, Taxiarchis Michael, would follow a pattern closer to the older example or an amalgam of that with new elements and that the later example would follow the developed and more contemporary type of the free-cross. Instead, the situation is reversed and although Taxiarchis Michael incorporates a more contemporary architectural synthesis, Aghios Ioannis Theologos returns to a mixture of that type of the Middle Byzantine style, which uses part of the square base. According to Moutsopoulos several variations of this type occur because of problems bracing the dome or due to geographical difficulties that imply the need for an extra reinforced support. However, the church of Aghios Ioannis Theologos is built on one of the few flat surfaces of Paliochora. Consequently, it was clearly an architectural choice based on local preferences.

At the beginning of this chapter, while introducing this kind of categorisation of churches according to their function, it was mentioned that the domed free-cross type does not reveal any specific religious function other than its ordinary liturgical purpose. Indeed, there is no written evidence for any architectural or iconographic detail which betrays an alternative function. The only function attributed to Aghios Ioannis Theologos had a commercial character, as it became the trading centre of the city up until the second Venetian conquest, acquiring an important position in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. The size of both the church and the courtyard is relatively large and proves that the church was used by a large number of people and was one of the central churches of Paliochora.

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63 A Xungopoulos, Το Καθολικόν της Μονής Λατόμου εν Θεσσαλονίκη και το εν αυτώ Ψηφιδωτό, Athens, 1929, p. 146.
64 Moutsopoulos, Παλησχώρα, p. 237.
66 2.65 by 2.61 by 2.57 by 2.64 m, Moutsopoulos, Παλησχώρα, p. 150.
Taxiarchis Michael was built in the thirteenth century on the southeast side in an extremely difficult position where the inclination of the ground is steep. The analysis of its architectural characteristics and the reasons for its choice of location do not offer any evidence for its function. There are no sources suggesting anything towards its usage nor is its placement on the map. Therefore, it is assumed that Taxiarchis Michael functioned as a parish church.

The plan of the domed free-cross church was a link, an intermediary phase with the past of Byzantine ecclesiastical architecture, adjusted to the needs and natural conditions of Paliochora. The two churches stand on the hill reminding us of patterns from the Macedonian period, connecting construction procedures to the Post Byzantine period when simpler modes were preferred.

The double – twin basilica

The term double basilica denotes a church with two naves and two sanctuaries. This particular church type is the most problematic of the five types encountered in Paliochora in terms of interpretation of use. This problem is not related only to Paliochora, but is a subject that has pre-occupied many scholars in different regions. Relevant cases of twin basilicas are encountered from the fifth century onwards on a variety of islands in the Aegean, on Cyprus, Lebanon, Syria and Italy. The problem of the identification of the origins and purpose of double churches is still not clear. There are various hypotheses as to why people would proceed with the construction of a

church with a double nucleus. In each region the analysis is structured on a different basis according to local traditions, popular religious practices, the formation of the ground, climate and sociological references. Another parameter is also the dating of these churches. Therefore, each case has to be examined individually and no general lines should be drawn as they may not be applicable for the examples in other parts of the world. According to Gratziou, Gerola was the first who presented this church plan on Crete, but Enlart was the first who associated them with simultaneous use by the Latin and Orthodox rite on Cyprus.\textsuperscript{68} In Greek bibliography their function was examined in individual case studies, except for the Dimitrocallis’ survey in 1976 on churches with double sanctuaries. This survey presented the existing architectural alterations of the type, without identifying specific functions on the catalogued churches. However, it is a useful catalogue for all the existing churches with double sanctuaries in Greece.\textsuperscript{69} Orlandos, Vokotopoulos, and Vassiliadis also linked them to the parallel use of two rites, Constantinidis saw an engineering solution to the problem of flat roofing, Sarou attributed secondary functions to them, and Kotsonis argued that common use was an act of dominance imposed by the Latins.\textsuperscript{70}

The names associated with the basilicas that include two sanctuaries and two naves vary between the above academics. Different terms such as double basilica, two-aisled basilica, and twin basilica are used to denote possible differences in the construction. Gratziou presented a very clear division for this type on Crete, separating them into two-aisled basilicas and double/twin basilicas. The first category appeared in the fourteenth century and includes churches with uneven naves, two roofs and separate

\textsuperscript{68} Gratziou, Κρήτη, p. 174.
\textsuperscript{69} G Dimitrokkallis, Οι Δίκοιχοι Χριστιανικοί Ναοί, Εκδόσεις Γρηγόρη, Athens, 1976, pp. 63-248.
entrances both to the nave and sanctuary (Aghios Fanourios at Valsamonero), while the second appeared in the fifteenth century and refers to churches with almost identical dimensions and two equal altars (Panagia at Kastri, Mylopotamos). In the first case the second nave could act as a secondary space for a baptistery or a martyrion, while the second case was more likely to host both rites. Moutsopoulos, on the other side, who is the only academic that examined the double churches of Paliochora used exclusively the term twin basilica regardless if the churches have identical dimensions or the existence of separation between the two sanctuaries. The analysis presented below demonstrates that this term is not valid to describe the entire group of double churches of the settlement.

In the city of Paliochora there are five twin basilicas dating from the fourteenth century during the Catalan period. Three were constructed under the Venetian dominion in the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries. Therefore, although the circumstances of conquest were different a critical analysis in comparison with Venetian Crete may offer valuable assets to this research. The problem of the identity of the twin basilicas is complicated due to the lack of primary sources on the peninsula. There are neither texts nor inscriptions that refer to the role of the twin basilicas, apart from Moutsopoulos’ observations based on existing literature for other islands. My hypothesis has been formed looking at his monograph, testing that against the results of my own fieldwork on the island and by examining relevant cases in Greece. At this point the iconographic evidence of wall paintings will have to be incorporated as they can provide answers towards the interpretation of this church type.

71 Gratziou, Κρήτη, pp. 127-130, 134. Specifically on p. 129, fig. 135, Gratziou provides a section of Aghia Kyriaki and Zoodochos Pege in Paliochora, as an example of a double church.
72 Moutsopoulos, Παλαιάπόρεια, pp. 216-235.
Moutsopoulos proposed a theory regarding the function of these churches in Paliochora, associating them with other examples on Greek islands under Latin rule. According to his survey the twin basilicas of Paliochora had a double importance, hypostasis and function as they served the needs both of the Catholics and the Orthodox.⁷⁴ He explains that the relationship between the Latin conquerors and Orthodox inhabitants depended on the politics imposed by the higher levels of the Latin clergy, and that the general approach aimed to convert them to the Western dogma.⁷⁵ In contrast, there were cases such as in Crete, where the ecclesiastical property was divided in churches with two naves to protect political stability.⁷⁶ But, we cannot ignore the fact that the Latins and Greeks viewed each other as schismatic and possibly inferior and disagreed in matters of ecclesiastical authority.⁷⁷ However, his analysis continued in a general manner referring to various Greek examples without focusing on the five cases in Paliochora. His opinion was presented in a dogmatic manner leaving no room for speculation, but no convincing arguments were provided in support of his conclusions. Five hundred years of co-habitation between the Latins and Greeks must have produced an architectural solution in order to satisfy the religious needs of both sides. On Crete where the Venetians dominated for approximately the same time, there were double churches that communicated internally, additions of a second nave to an older single-aisled basilica, and unified spaces divided into two sections with separate entrances.⁷⁸ While it is possible that this hypothesis could be true and indeed is interesting, the results of my fieldwork partially oppose his theory.

⁷⁴ Moutsopoulos, Παλεχώρα, p. 216.
⁷⁵ ibid., pp. 217-220. He refers extensively to the paradigm of the island of Chios where at the beginning of the occupation the conquerors had religious tolerance, but after 1694 the Venetians took all their churches under their command and forbade any practice of the Orthodox liturgy.
⁷⁶Gratziou, Κρήτη, p. 166.
⁷⁷ McKee, Uncommon Dominion, pp. 104-107.
⁷⁸ Gratziou, Κρήτη, pp. 127-128.
The examination of the double basilicas in this study focuses on several aspects such as dates of construction in association with the conqueror’s status, the choice of position on the hill, differences in masonry and vaulting, specific units of the sanctuaries, denominational affiliations, and iconographic patterns.

In Paliochora the five churches belonging to the twin basilica type are: the Panaghia of Giannoulis, Aghios Efthymios, Aghios Charalampos, Aghia Kyriaki and Zooodochos Pege and Aghios Georgios and Demetrios of the Castle.79 These five churches belong to the same architectural type but their structures are not identical. Only two cases completely satisfy the epithet ‘twin’, as they have identical dimensions and the two parts are duplicates; Aghia Kyriaki and Zooodochos Pege and Aghios Georgios and Demetrios of the Castle (Fig. 89-90). Therefore, the initial epithet given by Moutsopoulos is inadequate to characterize all five churches, and the term double church is preferred in this study when referring to the whole group.80 The three remaining churches seem to have a larger main nave and a second nave, which was less significant. Clearly, in Paliochora only Aghia Kyriaki and Aghios Demetrios and Georgios fall in the second group. Unfortunately, in Aghios Efthymios and the Panaghia of Giannoulis, the second nave has been destroyed and there are only a few remains of masonry as evidence (Fig. 91).

One criterion which differentiates double basilicas is the time of construction. Moutsopoulos argues that the construction of the two naves was simultaneous without providing any kind of evidence.81 Individual examination of the churches shows that in the majority of the five cases the erection of the two parts took place at different times. The most important proof for this is the masonry. The shape and size of stones

79 This church is known now simply as Aghia Kyriaki, but because the double name will influence the current examination it will be used in its proper form as Aghia Kyriaki and Zooodochos Pege.
80 Moutsopoulos, Παληχώρα, p. 103.
81 Ibid., p. 226.
used in the two naves is variable and also the technique utilised in the building procedure had differences. In the Panaghia of Giannoulis the chosen stones for the primary nave are not refined or carefully placed in courses, while in the second nave the stones are even and the courses perfectly aligned (Figs. 92-93). In addition, the intermediary wall is so thick that it shows that it was built originally to function as an external wall. The example from the fourteenth century, the church of Aghios Efthymios, contains the same characteristics in the nature of the stones and construction of the intermediary wall (Figs 94-95). Moving to the examples from the sixteenth century the church of Aghios Charalampos has been covered with lime layers, both internally and externally, so an accurate observation of the stonework is not feasible (Fig. 96). Aghia Kyriaki is one of the churches studied by archaeologists during the renovation funded by the Elliniki Etaireia in 2000. The report mentions that the south nave, Aghia Kyriaki, was erected before the north one, Zoodochos Pege. This conclusion was based on the analysis of the masonry, the width of stones and an investigation of the foundations. Also the excavation brought to light evidence for the existence of a third aisle attached to the north nave of Aghia Kyriaki (Fig. 97). The ‘third aisle’ was parallel to Aghia Kyriaki, aligned on the west side but two metres longer towards the east. The archaeologists estimated its entrance as being on the north side of this overhang. The space was narrower, had a different roofing system, lower height and no sign of sanctuary division. According to Tsakopoulos and Katerini, there is no way to confirm if there was immediate communication between the ‘third aisle’ and the nave of Aghia Kyriaki, because of the buttress that had been added externally and the decoration of the internal surface with frescoes. The report did not reach a definite conclusion regarding the use of this space, whether it was a place of

82 Both in the Panaghia of Giannoulis and Aghios Efthymios the second nave has not survived intact, so observations have been made from the remaining parts of masonry mainly in the area of the sanctuary.

83 P Tsakopoulos and T Katerini, Μελέτη Αποκατάστασης Καθολικού Ιεράς Μονής Αγίας Κυριακής-Παλαιοχώρα Αγίνης, Ελληνική Εταιρεία για την Προστασία του Περιβάλλοντος και της Πολιτιστικής Κληρονομιάς, Athens, 2002.
worship or an auxiliary room of the monastery. Today there are no remains of this third aisle.

The only case that stands out in this group of five double churches in terms of having contemporary double naves is Aghios Georgios and Demetrios of the Castle. The masonry of this church is unified, the stones are carefully selected and refined, producing an extremely harmonious result compared to the examples of masonry that dominate Paliochora from its beginning until the end of construction activity (Fig. 98). Although the stones are not placed in even horizontal courses, the use of mortar covers all the defects and along with the carefully structured quoins, the columns that support the opening of the main entrance, the circular arches and the angled roof, create an image contrary to the architectural tradition of the city. Another novelty observed in this church is that the two naves are completely separated by the intermediary wall and communicate only through the sanctuaries, while in all other cases there is access from one nave to another.

Furthermore, the five churches did not occupy a specific area on the hill. They were scattered in different zones, a fact that can provide evidence on their status. As was shown in the urban planning analysis in the first chapter, the dominant positions were generally closer to the centre of the two concentric perimeters of Paliochora and towards the highest levels close to the castle (Fig. 10). The Panaghia of Giannoulis, Aghios Efthymios, and Aghios Charalampos are built on lower levels towards the northwest side of Paliochora.

84 P Tsakopoulos & T Katerini, Αποτύπωση και Πρόταση Ανάδειξης Οικοδομικών Λειψάνων Νότιας Πλευράς Καθολικού Αγίας Κυριακής-Παλιοχώρα Αιγίνης, Ελληνική Εταιρεία για την Προστασία του Περιβάλλοντος και της Πολιτιστικής Κληρονομιάς, Athens, 2004, pp. 7-11.
85 Before the restoration procedure, archaeologists conducted excavations and found the foundations of this third aisle. New plans and sections were designed and were presented in the official file of the case. This file has never been published and was given to me directly from the Elliniki Etaireia due to the nature of my thesis. The excavation in 2003 is mentioned in Pennas’ book on Paliochora, C Pennas, Η Βυζαντινή Αιγίνα, Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού-Ταμείο Αρχαιολογικών Πόρων και Απαλλοτριώσεων, Athens, 2004, p. 62.
By contrast, Aghia Kyriaki and Zoodochos Pege and Aghios Georgios and Demetrios of the Castle are erected in more vital positions which reveal a different level of importance. Aghia Kyriaki and Zoodochos Pege is built on the external perimeter which progressively leads to the castle. Aghios Georgios and Demetrios is built inside the fortifications of the castle in the area under the conqueror’s control. Furthermore, it was also built with the support of the Venetians. Only during the seventeenth century, when the Venetians decided to help financially in the reinforcement of the city was the twin basilica of Aghios Georgios and Demetrios of the castle built in the centre of the castle, underlining that relationships between Orthodox and Catholic were on a better footing. The turning point in the relations between Venetians and Orthodox during the sixteenth century is underlined by Arbel, who attributes it to the threat of the Ottoman Turks that led to a more lenient policy towards their Greek subjects on the part of the Venetians. During this period the dogmatic differences were overcome and the two religious communities were close due to everyday life and transactions. The churches with equal naves are also equipped with two main entrances, while in Aghios Charalampos the second entrance is far smaller. These details put Moutsopoulos’ theory in doubt, as it is observed that there were important differences between the five twin basilicas.

In an Orthodox church the boundary between the nave and the sanctuary had been marked by a low wall or an elevated beam since early Christian times, but became a necessary feature in the Middle Byzantine period; the iconostasis.

86 The monastic settlement has a main church, a large courtyard, auxiliary buildings around it and the monastic cells on a higher level. Despite the renovation of the main church, all the other premises remain in their original state and the danger of complete destruction is apparent. The settlement offers a contradictory image; a very carefully preserved church with its courtyard, surrounded by ruins.


88 B Arbel, Cyprus, the Franks and Venice, 13th-16th Centuries, Variorum Collected Studies Series, Ashgate Variorum, Aldershot, 2000, p. 325.

89 Gratiou, Κρήτη, p. 163.

90 In the Panaghia of Giannoulis and Aghios Efthymios the second entrance does not survive.

Cathedrals it started to be erected in the second quarter of the thirteenth century according to the Canons of the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, which was the turning point for the centralisation of the altarpiece. Every church had to possess a fixed altar and therefore, the existence of an altarpiece became necessary. It was used to segregate different communities, provided appropriate imagery related to the liturgy, and had physical connection to the celebration of the Mass. During the Reformation in the sixteenth century, the screens were associated to the laity and were detached from the choir. The screens had openings were people could achieve a glimpse of the sacred space, and occasionally they did not cover the whole width. Gradually, they were removed as altar frontals and became the background setting. None of the cases in Paliochora provides a western version of a screen barrier. The Panaghia of Giannoulis and Aghios Efthymios cannot be incorporated in this phase of the examination as their extensive destruction does not allow for firm conclusions to be made. In the church of Aghios Charalampos the naves are separated with a unified templon and the sanctuaries communicate through the intermediary wall. The conch of the apse in the north nave is smaller than the main sanctuary and reveals that a secondary activity took place there. The conditions in Aghia Kyriaki were not the same. The south part which is considered Orthodox by Moutsopoulos, contains a high stone templon with a central Royal Door, a characteristic of Late and Post Byzantine architecture (Fig. 99). In the nave of Zoodochos Pege which is believed to be the Catholic sacred space, the templon is wooden and was added in a later phase (Fig. 100). Probably it was added after the seventeenth century when the Venetians left the

95 Jung, 'Seeing Through Screens', pp. 189-190
96 Norman, 'Making Altarpieces', p. 175.
97 Gratziou, Καθήμενη, p. 168.
island and the two naves then functioned as a unified church of the monastery until 1830. The north part did not belong to the Latin community any more, so the locals took it over and reformed it in an Eastern manner.

The architectural pattern followed in the church of the castle seems to be totally different. Nowadays, there is no templon surviving but there are traces on the floor that mark a horizontal wall that separated the nave from the altar only the south side. In the two cases without hints of a stone templon, north side of the basilica of the castle and Zoodochos Pege, the stone altar is placed very close to the conch, leaving no space for a screen to be placed behind it. Consequently, the screen must have been a removable item, placed in front continuing the stone templon of the south side.

Undoubtedly, extremely helpful evidence on the function of double naves can be extracted from the analysis of the iconographic programme, as usually the internal decoration is in accordance with the character of the church and, when western elements are involved, it is probable that other subject matters were preferred although the conquerors encountered a deeply rooted tradition. The frescoes are in a critical state and in many cases they have not survived intact. Of the five twin basilicas, only three are still decorated with frescoes; the walls of the Panaghia of Giannoulis, Aghios Charalampos, and Aghios Georgios and Demetrios of the Castle no longer contain any. The church with the richest material, having possession of full iconographic cycles is Aghia Kyriaki and Zoodochos Pege and they will be used in this chapter only as elements to aid the identification of the users of the twin basilicas. The frescoes will be thoroughly analysed in matters of technique, style, position and frequency in the following two chapters. Without question, the fact that the full

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98 Prokopiou, Εστίες, p. 186.
iconographic programme has not survived is an impediment in this procedure of identifying the role of the double churches.

Aghios Efthymios contains only four frescoes (the Hierarchs, the Last Judgement, Aghios Georgios and Aghios Constantinos and Aghia Eleni). The selected figures, except for the Hierarchs, could be part of western iconographic programme. However, their style does not reveal any Western elements and in fact include scenes generally preferred in the iconographic programmes of the peninsula.¹⁰⁰

In Aghia Kyriaki and Zoodochos Pege the iconographic programmes are almost complete and offer opportunities for multiple viewpoints. The first analysis of the iconographic programme of the monastery was conducted by Angelos Prokopiou.¹⁰¹ The internal space of the south nave, Aghia Kyriaki, is decorated with a variety of scenes from the Akathistos Hymn, presented according to the Orthodox typikon.¹⁰² On the other hand, the internal space of the north nave, Zoodochos Pege, follows a different pattern, a cycle with saintly martyrdoms. The Martyrologia appeared in the Greek peninsula in the thirteenth century.¹⁰³ In Zoodochos Pege the list of martyrs includes only saints that are accepted by both rites.¹⁰⁴ Moreover, above the main entrance of Zoodochos Pege there is a fresco depicting the Apostles Peter and Paul holding a model of the church, a subject which is usually used for the promotion of unity between the two Churches.¹⁰⁵ The technique, the colours, the shading and figural proportions show that the iconographic programmes of the two

¹⁰⁰ For more information, see pp. 160-161, 220-223, 234-235. 242-243.
¹⁰¹ Prokopiou, Εστίες, pp. 198-99.
¹⁰² For more details, see pp. 188-191.
¹⁰³ Paisidou, Κατάρος, p. 141.
¹⁰⁴ For more details, see pp. 191-197.
naves were painted by different artists. However, there is no evidence whether the Venetians and Catalans had their own painters or worked with local artists.

After the examination of details in construction and elements from the iconographic programme, it is useful to discuss the denominations involved. Of the five examples of double churches examined, only two have double names; one for each of the two naves. The churches with double denominations are the same which were characterised as twin basilicas in the beginning of the analysis, Aghia Kyriaki and Zoodochos Pege and Aghios Demetrios and Georgios of the Castle, indicating more clearly the possibility of double use. In the case of Aghia Kyriaki and Zoodochos Pege, the south nave is dedicated to Aghia Kyriaki and the north to Zoodochos Pege.

Zoodochos Pege means the Fountain of Life and is a name associated with the Virgin Mary and the metaphors attributed to her. The first church dedicated to the Fountain of Life was constructed by the Emperor Leo around 450, next to a fountain with healing water in Constantinople. Later, the whole district was called Zoodochos Pege. Since then, it has been common to dedicate churches to the Virgin Fountain of Life when they possess holy springs. The type of the Virgin Zoodochos Pege appeared in church iconography from the early Christian period with this particular dedication either as fresco, mosaic or portable icon and the final type was standardised during the tenth century, but frequently appears only in the Late and Post Byzantine period. It represents the cleaning of the body, symbolising at the same time the saving of the soul. Initially it included only the figure of the Virgin inside a fountain. The addition

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108 Example of iconography can be found in three churches at Kastoria from the seventeenth century (Eisodia of Tsiapatas, Aghios Nikolaos, and Aghios Georgios), in central Greece in Archontochorio from 1669, in Megali Panaghia on Samos. Paisidou, Καστοριά, pp. 191-192. More information of the iconography of the
of the infant Christ is regarded as an addition before the Post Byzantine period, according to the existence of icons by Angelos with this subject. As mentioned in the introduction of this thesis one of the major reasons for the choice of the hill was the existence of a well with healing water. However, this spring is located close to the Cathedral and not the twin basilica of Aghia Kyriaki and Zoodochos Pege. In addition, there is no remaining fresco on the walls of the north nave representing the Virgin of the Fountain of Life. The Virgin has a prominent position in Eastern Christianity expressed in iconography and church dedications, but also her worship in the West was expanded during the medieval period. Another hypothesis for the denomination of the north nave is initiated by the justification for the existence of Zoodochos Pege in Kastoria. The fresco in the church of Aghios Nikolaos at Aghioi Anargyroi (seventeenth century) is placed between two military saints, Aghios Georgios and Demetrios. It is associated with the inscription 'η Γιατρείους των Δροπικών και τον/τεθυόντων', referring to an epidemic of 1611-12, when hundreds of people died. The Monastery of Aghia Kyriaki and Zoodochos Pege was built in the sixteenth century, after the two destructive invasions of Kemal Reis and Barbarossa. Consequently, the choice of dedication might have been a result of massive death and hope for life in the future under the protection of the Virgin, an act that may have been initiated by both rites. On the other hand Aghia Kyriaki is a saint with a royal background, popular in Greece. Aghia Kyriaki is not encountered in the West, so if the theory about shared

Virgin of the Fountain of Life can be found in the monographs referred above and in D Pallas, Η Θεοτόκος Ζωοδόχος Πηγή: Μελέται, Athens, 1971.
111 Paisidou, Καστορία, pp. 191-192.
112 ibid., p. 247.
Aghios Georgios and Demetrios of the Castle is the second case of a double dedication, this time however with a clear connection between the two saints commemorated. Aghios Georgios and Aghios Demetrios are the two main military saints, known for their accomplishments of killing dragons and fighting evil forces, usually depicted on their horses with their military attributes. They are both celebrated in Paliochora in several styles and in numerous frescoes. Both saints were connected to the Palaeologian family and appeared on coins of this period. Regardless of the devotion that these saints attracted in Byzantine territories, they became popular in the West as well. Some proof of this exists particularly on the island of Aegina, since the Venetians paid to acquire the relic of Saint George in order to transfer it to Venice and venerate it in San Giorgio Maggiore in 1462. Since the Venetians showed their devotion to Aghios Georgios, it is likely that they commemorated his name with this church dedication. However, both saints are extremely important to both rites and their choice reveals a kind of agreement between the two sides. The church was constructed by the Venetians and locals in co-operation and the dedications were chosen accordingly.

115 The Palaeologian family ruled from 1261 with Michael Palaeologos, who re-conquered Constantinople from the Crusaders, until 1453 and who was the last Emperor of the Byzantine Empire; Constantine Palaeologos.
The iconographic schemes and the choice of dedications, especially in Aghia Kyriaki and Zoodochos Pege show a tendency of the Orthodox to occupy the south part of these twin churches. Gratziou confirms this by stating that on Crete the addition by the Latins was done in the north side of a church.\footnote{Gratziou, Κρήτη, p. 131.} The examples in Greece were a simultaneous use of both rites is recorded are limited, therefore, evidence on preferences in the choice of nave is restricted. Vassiliadis concluded that the Latins occupied the north side of the church of Flouria on Paros and Aghios Ioannis Prodromos on Kythnos.\footnote{Vassiliadis, ‘Μονοκλιτες Βασιλικές’, p. 70.} The argument on the first case was also supported by Vokotopoulos.\footnote{Vokotopoulos, ‘Μονόχωροι Ναοί’, p. 69.}

Following this sequence of arguments it can be suggested that only two double churches facilitated both the Catholics and the Orthodox. Aghia Kyriaki and Zoodochos Pege and Aghios Georgios and Demetrios of the Castle functioned as religious spaces for two rites at a parallel period. The hypothesis of Moutsopoulos can be supported partially by this finding. But, if that was the case, at this point it is also important to answer the question of why the conquerors chose to share certain religious places with the Aeginians, since they had the power and the financial capacities to build new churches.

The geology of the peninsula with a lack of flat surfaces suitable for the erection of large buildings played a determinative role. There was not a suitable area for the construction of a Cathedral according to western prototypes and the demands of grand Gothic architecture. At the same time there is no proof that the westerners used any other places for their religious needs, a fact totally alien to Catholic piety. Cormack underlines that impressive Gothic cathedrals were constructed in parts occupied by the
The Latin Cathedral was a landmark of ecclesiastical hierarchy and was usually located on the major site of each city. The example of Crete underlines the conquerors’ will to host their religious needs in new or existing buildings. It is highly unlikely that in Paliochora the conquerors did not practice their religious duties. Therefore, the solution of expanding an already existing building with the help of local *technites*, familiar with the ground, was an easier procedure. This hypothesis was supported by André Grabar who observed that in several conquered places Latin conquerors did not build new churches as they used or expanded those which existed. However, this argument cannot be generalised for all five cases in Paliochora, as was claimed in Moutsopoulos’ monograph.

Consequently, the double basilicas do not create a coherent group with similar architectural plans and functions as was observed in the previous three categories. There are important differences in the plan, such the size of the two naves, the connection between them, the simultaneous construction or otherwise of the two parts, the existence of an iconostasis, and the iconographic themes that are preferred. Aghia Kyriaki and Zooodochos Pege and Aghios Demetrios and Georgios of the castle from the first group under the term twin basilicas, that is associated with a joint use by the conquerors and the locals.

Another question that is raised is the function of the remaining three double basilicas. Krautheimer underlines that during the Late and Post Byzantine period new spaces were needed for baptismal fonts, for burial of benefactors, and for the commemoration

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121 Cormack, *Byzantine Art*, p. 188.
of saints and members of the monastic community.\textsuperscript{125} In Cyprus the church of Angeloktisti at Kiti (eleventh century) has two naves, one of them is Gothic and sources place it in the category of a funerary chapel.\textsuperscript{126} The monastery of Kalopanayiotis in Cyprus (thirteenth century) is argued to have one Latin funerary chapel due to its Italianate frescoes.\textsuperscript{127} On Crete secondary spaces attached to the main nave were also intended for baptisteries and funerary chapels.\textsuperscript{128}

Unfortunately, Aghios Efthymios and the Panaghia of Giannoulis do not exist as a complete entity and so cannot provide further evidence. If the other three churches in Paliochora were used as reliquary or funerary chapels, they should be linked to local families as if they possessed holy relics it is possible that they would have the form of a martyrion. Since local families were associated with the funding of churches, it is likely that certain families were commemorated after their death in funerary monuments. However, this is only a thought and cannot be further supported, due to the lack of sources from that time, without additional archaeological research.

The existence of the twin basilica as a space used by both rites does not have implications only for the architectural landscape of Paliochora, which undoubtedly becomes more interesting, but on the social life as well. In Chapter I it was explained that Paliochora was divided according to a social hierarchical system; the conquerors on the higher levels and the locals on the slopes.\textsuperscript{129} Nevertheless, matters of religious devotion and piety helped them to overcome their differences and eventually during the last construction periods to share spaces. In a city with a small area, the citizens succeeded in overcoming their political and administrative differences. Under the roof

\textsuperscript{125} Krautheimer, Byzantine Architecture, p. 415.
\textsuperscript{126} A Stylianou & J Stylianou, The Painted Churches of Cyprus, The Research Centre-Greek Communal Chamber, Cyprus, 1964, p. 28.
\textsuperscript{127} Ibid., p. 109.
\textsuperscript{128} Gratziou, Κηνή, p. 145.
\textsuperscript{129} See Chapter I, p. 24.
of the church everybody was equal and did not interfere with the liturgy. Lock describes their relationship by commenting that there was no unmovable obstacle between Greeks and Latins but there was a fairly broad chasm which could be crossed at some peril.  

130

The Cathedral

The Cathedral of Paliochora or Aghios Dionysios, as it is commonly known in the region, is examined separately because its present form is the result of continuous additions to the original plan and it cannot be classified by any of the above groups. Currently, it is recognised as a basilica with a dome and a side aisle (Fig. 101).  

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Apart from the ordinary role of the head church of the region, it functioned as a monastery as well.  

132 Aghios Dionysios and the twin basilica of Aghia Kyriaki are the only other two churches that possess monastic cells and a number of auxiliary buildings.

The Cathedral is built on the path that passes from the Square of Forou and continues to the southeast part of the hill. The fact that it was constructed so close to the main square of the fourteenth century shows a connection between Aghios Dionysios and Aghios Georgios Katholikos. The pilgrims that visited the martyrion had immediate access to the Cathedral of the peninsula. The courtyard, which was in front of the main church, created additional space for circulation at times of important feasts, and for communication between the auxiliary edifices of the monastery.

130 Lock, Franks, p. 309.
131 Similar cases have been documented on other islands of the Aegean Sea through research conducted by the Architectural School of Athens and Thessaloniki. Their majority stays unpublished until this moment and all the plans are stored in the archives of the Department of Morphology.
132 LC Zois, Ο Άγιος Διονύσιος προστάτης Ζακύνθου, Ὅλον, 1895, p. 16, 19, 46,
The monastery expanded on three levels with the Catholikon standing in the middle one. There was a need for a firm and gradual structure in order to overcome the problem of the steep inclination. The first level was occupied by secondary spaces such as storage. The church on the middle level was supported on a rock, and on the highest level there were two cells. The right one was Archbishop Dionysios’ cell (Fig. 102).133

The appearance of the church, internal and external, changed many times before reaching its present state. The original date for the first church is not identified in the sources, but archaeological estimation places it around the fourteenth century.134 According to the architectural features that remained in the later phases, it was a cross-in-square church with a dome supported on four piers.135 As the four piers do not exist anymore, there is evidence that the building suffered from severe destruction which led to a new plan; a three-aisled basilica with a dome and a central aisle that was wider than the side aisles. There is an inscription verifying the end of the rebuilding and completion of the iconographic programme in 1610, which indicates that construction finished in the beginning of the seventeenth century.136 Consequently, the destruction of the Cathedral must be related to the invasions which occurred in the first half of the sixteenth century (Fig. 103).137

133 This cell has been renovated by the Elliniki Etaireia in 2000 and while the other restored churches are locked, the cell is open to pilgrims.
134 Moutsopoulos, Παλιαχώρα, p. 134.
135 Ibid.
136 Pennas, Αίγινα, p. 55.
137 For more information, see p. 18.
138 ‘The holy and sacred church of the Virgin Mary and Theotokos was finished with the funds and work of the priest Niofos, with the contributions by the Christians whose names are Known to God. Demetrios of Athens finished in the month of June 1610’.
This shows that the renovation of the church was initiated by the Bishop who commissioned an artist from Athens to complete the iconographic programme. According to the inscription, the church originally commemorated the Virgin, but later during the eighteenth century it was dedicated to Aghios Dionysios, the Bishop of Aegina for the period 1576-79, who was canonised in 1703. Archbishop Dionysios was linked to the life of Paliochora even if he was the head of the local church only for three years, before the Venetians transferred the centre of the diocese to Nafplion. There are local songs that commemorate him performing the Eucharist and distributing the Holy Bread to the faithful from the three steps in the entrance of the church. After the desperation that followed Barbarossa’s invasion, the Archbishop of Athens decided that the presence of a Bishop there was necessary, as the position was empty for three hundred years. The fact that the hierarchy of the Greek Orthodox Church decided to create a Bishop’s seat in Aegina reveals the importance of the medieval city, which was a provincial site but apparently had a large influence in the rest of the Argosaronic Sea. Aghios Dionysios was a monk from Zante, born in 1546 from a noble, local family. It is mentioned by Zois that he left the island and was consecrated Bishop of Aegina on the 17th of July 1576. He continues by mentioning that when Dionysios moved to Aegina he continued his ascetic lifestyle and chose to live in a cell by the Cathedral. After his resignation there are other Bishops referred to in sources. Aghios Dionysios was followed as Bishop of Aegina by Nifon, Neophytos, Dorotheos, Meletios, Kallinikos, Amvrosios, and Gerasimos.

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139 The decision was made by the Synod when Gabriel III was Patriarch – A Mystakidis, Επισκοπικοί Κατάλογοι-Τόμος Δ’, Athens, 1936, p. 155.
140 Moutsopoulos, Παληγάρωφα, pp. 144-145.
142 Bishops had to be thirty-five years old, but Dionysios was only thirty when he was appointed Bishop of Aegina, JM Hussey, The Byzantine World, Hutchindon’s University Library, London, 1957, p. 104.
143 Zois, Άγιοι Διανύσις, p. 16.
144 Moutsopoulos, Παληγάρωφα, p. 148 – After the election of Gerasimos in 1813, the diocese of Aegina expanded to include the islands of Ydra and Poros and Gerasimos became Eparch, Mystakidis, Επισκοπικοί Κατάλογοι, p. 155.
As mentioned above, what survives is characterised as a domed basilica with a side aisle. It is in a good condition allowing for the landslide that caused deep horizontal and transverse cracks to the dome. The date of the landslide is not mentioned in any of the inscriptions of the church, but can be estimated according to the restoration process dating to the destruction of Paliochora by Kemal Reis (1502) and Barbarossa (1537). On the west side the ablation of the dome from the vertical wall is obvious. This restoration changed its primary form, as neither is the sanctuary correctly placed nor is the east aisle well connected with it. Its date is estimated through the available primary sources to the first Venetian conquest along with the fortification of the castle in the beginning of the sixteenth century.\footnote{The inscription mentioned above stated that the iconographic programme of the new church was finished in 1610. Consequently, the renovation must have been completed earlier. During the second half of the sixteenth century the Ottoman Turks annulled the function of the Cathedral and send Aghios Dionysios to a cell next to it. It is highly unlikely that they would support renovation works at this time. The Venetians on the other hand aided the renovation of the castle and fortification, so it is possible that they would approve a renovation of the Cathedral of the city. Gitakos, pp. 50-52.} The sanctuary after the renovation was located on the north side of the church. The dome was supported by two piers in the east, and two simple columns in the west. According to Moutsopoulos these supporting piers were probably the original ones.\footnote{Moutsopoulos, Παλιοχώρα, p. 132.} The weight of the dome is supported by squinches and four columns.

There are three theories about the original plan of the Cathedral, two of them discussed by Moutsopoulos.\footnote{Ibid., p. 134-136.} According to these the Cathedral originally could have been a domed square-in-cross church or a three aisled basilica. The hypothesis is based on a series of architectural observations regarding vaulting procedures. The west aisle is covered with a semi-cylindrical vault with a north-south axis. The east aisle, in which three semi-circular and one rectangular conch exist, is covered with four quadrant spherical vaults. These conches have a northeast orientation. The new church never acquired a new sanctuary. Instead, the new sanctuary was placed in the former
Diakonikon and that is why it now has a north orientation. The height of the transverse vaults is lower than the north vault. It can be argued that the highest transverse vault was added later to replace one of the smaller ones. In addition it can be assumed that the position of the two columns is the original one so the church was a three-aisled basilica. The only problem of this conclusion is that we only know of such examples in the central and southeast area of the Peloponnese.\footnote{A Orlando\textsuperscript{148}s, \textit{Αναπαλήξουσαι Βασιλικαί Λακωνίας}, Athens, 1927, pp. 343-351.}

After the destruction of the main part of the primary church, the \textit{technites} tried to reinforce the piers. Because of the difficulties of topography, it was a difficult procedure to support the west columns which kept their position. Moutsopoulos theorises that the church belonged to the cross-in-square type based on the existence of the east conches covered by semi-cylindrical domes, the part of the north wall of the primary church which is now part of the contemporary sanctuary, and the style of the new dome.\footnote{More details about his theory can be found in his monograph Moutsopoulos, \textit{Παλησχώρα}, pp. 135-136.}

Supporting a completely opposite point of view, Angelos Prokopiou argues that perhaps the Cathedral belonged originally to the category of churches with a transverse placement of the apse.\footnote{Information taken from Angelos Prokopiou’s notes.} Nevertheless, this opinion can only be accepted if the east aisle is examined independently from that of the rest of the building. Then it can be argued that the original form was a basilica with a transverse sanctuary and the rest of the contemporary building was a later addition.

To recapitulate the two main arguments, the elements that support the theory that Aghios Dionysios was formerly a domed cross-in-square basilica are the existence of the east conches with the semi-circular apses and the preservation of the two original
piers that help us to imagine the original status of the dome. The version of the three-aisled basilica cannot be discarded as there could have been another aisle symmetrical to the east, covered by transverse vaults and this is suggested by the free space and uncovered narthex towards the west of the church that has the exact placement of a possible aisle. Unfortunately, the evidence is not strong enough to come to firm conclusions about the original architectural plan of the church and further archaeological research is required in order to re-evaluate the case. The external surface of the church has been covered with lime that obscures the original masonry and covers further possible evidence.

Conclusion

This chapter examined the relationship between structure and function. Structure implemented by the different church plans that appear on the hill of Paliochora and function as determined by the various religious needs of the inhabitants. The question that was raised in the beginning was whether this distinction of types was a conscious choice or the result of random decisions. One element that was certain, before even entering the discussion, is that the diversity of church types did not have a chronological basis. The second construction period included a single-aisled basilica, two basilicas with a transverse sanctuary, a twin basilica, a domed free-cross church and the Cathedral. Consequently, it was either a choice linked to a specific function or to the preference of each patron and workshop.

The situation with the single-aisled basilicas and the domed free-cross churches is simple and clear. Except for Aghios Ioannis Theologos and Timios Stavros which were linked to the trade market of the island, all the other cases were used as parish
churches. There are no inscriptions related to them, but the available primary sources indicate that both their construction and use was associated with private funding and local families. Their size and placement in insignificant positions around the hill reveals this ordinary status.

The basilicas with a transverse sanctuary performed the role of martyrion throughout Byzantine history.¹⁵¹ In Paliochora Buodelmonti confirm the existence of Saint George’s relic on the island in 1410 and the *Chronicle of Morea* its transference to Venice in 1462.¹⁵² The available sources do not link Aghios Nikolaos the North with a precise relic, but its formation, part of the frescoes, and its position on the hill and iconography can lead in the direction of a Martyrion. The only case whose identification is still problematic is Aghios Stephanos; it was built either to imitate an older type or to function as a martyrion as well. Moreover, there is no doubt about the role of Aghios Dionysios, which mentioned was a Cathedral and is associated with the life of its Bishop.

The case of the twin basilicas was problematic in the sense of identifying which purpose they served. The conclusion of this research accepts only partially Moutsopoulos’ theory of parallel use by the two rites. The extensive architectural analysis carried out supports the contention that Aghia Kyriaki and Zoodochos Pege and Aghios Georgios and Demetrios of the Castle permitted this co-existence, but on the other hand the evidence is not strong enough for the remaining three cases. Due to the lack of primary sources, only tentative conclusions can be made that the second nave was used as a mortuary chapel for important families or as a baptistery. What is important is that these cases also confirm the argument that the choice of church plan

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¹⁵¹ For more information see pp. 98-99.
was directed by function. Regardless of the political system, the Orthodox style of life continued on the island and involved all necessary practices such as the mass, individual praying, festive liturgies, pilgrimage, and relic veneration.

Overall, the first part of the thesis treated the architectural analysis from three different angles; first as a whole group, secondly divided into four construction periods, and finally, separated into five groups of architectural types. It examined the creation of the urban fabric according to the four construction periods and their key factors, extracted patterns referring to architectural specificities, and explained the functionality of each church type.

The first approach helped in the wider understanding of the current image of the city, the identification of the two concentric perimeters and the evaluation of the role of the squares and castle in communal life. It was suggested that the churches did not function only as religious space where the liturgy was performed. They had strong social and commercial affiliations; they were a common meeting point for the two dogmas and had a role in the general defence programme. The contribution of this thesis is to posit the division of the thirty-four churches into four construction periods and create new, separate maps for each period. The position of the churches was considered random before this study. However, it was shown that they followed a hierarchical system and changed according to the privileges that were assigned by the conquerors and influenced the social behaviour of the citizens.

The second approach sprang from this primary classification into four construction periods. The studying of individual architectural specificities through this chronological classification led to the formation of structural patterns. The novelty of this analysis lies in the fact that there was no comparative contextualisation of the individual
architectural features undertaken before. This section is accompanied by the first complete catalogue of images.

Finally, the third approach focused on the function of the churches connecting both the religious and social activities of the island with specific architectural forms. The evidence presented in this part indicated that Paliochora is a complete example of a Late Byzantine provincial city; a city which occupied an exemplary position in the catalogue of provincial cities, a fact which is contradictory to its contemporary abandonment. The next part of the thesis will discuss art historical matters, iconography and style and will aid the complete understanding of Paliochora’s religious identity.
PART B - ICONOGRAPHY

The evolution from Late to Post Byzantine Iconography

Currently thirty-four Late and Post Byzantine churches survive on the hill of Paliochora. However, the number of frescoes does not equal this, as almost half of the churches are completely white-washed or possess only small fragments of painting. More specifically eighteen churches possess at least one fresco. Almost complete iconographic cycles are encountered in only three churches; Aghios Dionysios (the Cathedral), Aghia Kyriaki, and the Church of the Metamorphosis. The majority of frescoes belong to churches constructed during the Venetian dominion in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but there is also a small number dated to the fourteenth century. In addition, due to lack of inscriptions and primary sources, it is not clear whether the churches and the iconographic programmes were completed simultaneously; a practice frequently followed in the provinces after 1453. Therefore, in order to place the available frescoes into a chronological framework and appraise their organisation and style one has to be aware of the general tendencies which governed the iconographic programmes of each period, the mediums used, and the preferred subjects.

Palaeologian art, which developed between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries up to the fall of Constantinople in 1453, was characterized by two artistic currents; the style observed in the major centres of the empire (Constantinople, Thessaloniki, Epirus,

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1 MP Paisidou, Οι Τοιχογραφίες του 17ου Αιώνα στους Ναούς της Καστοριάς, Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού, Έκδοση του Ταμείου Αρχαιολογικών Πόρων και Απαλλοτρίωσεων, Athens, 2002 and A Papazotos, Η Βέροια και οι Ναοί της (11<sup>ο</sup>-18<sup>ο</sup> αι.)-Ιστορική και Αρχαιολογική Σπουδή Των Μνημείων της Πόλης, Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού, Έκδοση του Ταμείου Αρχαιολογικών Πόρων και Απαλλοτρίωσεων, Athens, 1994, p. 277.
Trebizond, Nicaea, and Morea) and examples originating from the remaining regions.\(^2\) By the end of the thirteenth century a distinctive form of artistic patronage in the above centres initiated the creation of examples such as the Chora Monastery (finished in 1321), the Parigoritissa of Arta (end of the thirteenth century), and Aghios Nikolaos Orphanos in Thessaloniki (beginning of the fourteenth century).\(^3\) The Chora Monastery is characterized by academics as the epitome of Palaeologian painting, but at the same time is does not constitute the norm to identify style.\(^4\) On the other side, a large number of small churches, mainly basilicas, exist in the provinces which were mainly occupied by Latin forces, providing an unexplored iconographic wealth which combined the Byzantine past with new ideas, deriving from personal artistic choices.\(^5\)

Thus, original investigation and interpretation has to be conducted individually settlement by settlement in order to identify local tendencies. One aim of this thesis is to provide a complete database and primary analysis of the surviving frescoes in the Late and Post Byzantine churches of Paliochora, in order to place the city within the wider context of ecclesiastical decorative art after 1453. This will allow further research and comparative analysis with the numerous equivalent cases that exist in the Eastern Mediterranean and will create new material regarding a period that has not been thoroughly researched in terms of the continuation of the Byzantine tradition. The medieval Mediterranean is still a region with academically unexplored artistic treasures, both in terms of architecture and internal ecclesiastical decoration.


The difference in style and use of materials between the two artistic trends of the Palaeologian period was basically formed by the difference in the economic status quo. The capital and the major cities profited by the distribution of funds and donations for ecclesiastical projects made by aristocratic families. In these projects the architect, church planner, and painter worked together under the commands of the donor. The example of the Chora Monastery and its donor Theodore Metochitis (1270-1332) prove the existence of wealthy statesmen who provided funding for the import of fine materials such as the lapis lazuli used for the blue colour in the Anastasis wall-painting in the *parekklesion*. Nevertheless, the conquered territories experienced a totally different situation. The continuous shifting of political circumstances and the presence of conquerors, who governed all trading activities, influenced their economic stability. At the same time though, the need for the continuation of the Orthodox tradition was alive and strong. Therefore, the internal surfaces of the churches were mainly decorated by wall paintings created by local workshops and easily available materials.

After 1453, Orthodox art continued to exist but acquired even less homogeneity than the previous era. Monumental painting developed and reached its acme during the sixteenth century, presenting a variety of examples in the various regions. After this period a decline can be observed in certain regions such as Crete, where wall paintings gave their place to icons. On the other hand, various islands show obedience to

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fresco painting, along with examples from the mainland, such as Kastoria and Veroia, which are the representative examples of Northern Greece.\(^\text{12}\)

The iconographic programmes of the Late Byzantine period in large churches and monastic settlements acted as an echo to the grand Middle Byzantine examples. Christ occupied the highest parts of the vaulting, as master of the universe and supreme judge, while the Virgin was placed in the conch of the apse. The sanctuary scenes were of extreme importance, because of their placement inside the holy of the holies.\(^\text{13}\) The twelve scenes of Christ’s life which completed the dodekaorton were placed in the higher parts of the church; cupolas, pendentives, and squinches, leaving the third and lowest zone to saintly figures and further scenes from the New Testament, such as miracles and parables.\(^\text{14}\) However, there was an introduction of new cycles, focusing mainly of the adoration of the Virgin, the Holy Passion, and a detailed representation of evangelic events and saints’ vitas.\(^\text{15}\) In the case of Paliochora, as in many other provincial examples, such as Kastoria, Cyprus, and Crete where the architectural types are simplified to single-aisled churches, the austere hierarchical system followed in the major cities of the Late Byzantine period with the numerous vaults, squinches, pendentives and large surfaces no longer existed.\(^\text{16}\) The arrangement of internal spaces, consisting of longitudinal rooms, prevented the painter from placing images in accordance with the established iconographic hierarchy.\(^\text{17}\) Due to the size of the churches, their low height, and diminished number of available surfaces, all the frescoes are close to the visitor, have a smaller scale, and generally are horizontally

\(^{12}\) EN Tsigaridas, ‘Monumental Painting in Greece. Macedonia During the 15\textsuperscript{th} Century’ in Acheimastou-Potamianou, M (ed), Holy Image, Holy Space: Icons and Frescoes from Greece, Greek Ministry of Culture, Athens, 1988, pp. 54-60.


\(^{14}\) The dodekaorton includes the twelve major feasts of the liturgical year; the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Baptism, the Presentation in the Temple, the Transfiguration, the Raising of Lazarus, the Entry into Jerusalem, the Crucifixion, the Anastasis, the Ascension, the Pentecost, and the Dormition of the Virgin.

\(^{15}\) Acheimastou-Potamianou, Τοιχογραφίες, p. 25.

\(^{16}\) Cormack, Byzantine Art, p. 198.

prolonged due to the available, rectangular surfaces.\textsuperscript{18} The choice and placement of subjects depended on the architectural type, its use, the dedication, and, of course, regional preferences.\textsuperscript{19} The artists focused on the development of the figures and background and created eloquent scenery in order to place the figures in motion and demonstrate emotion. The time had come to depict human conditions of pain and sorrow, serenity and bliss.\textsuperscript{20}

One important characteristic of Late Byzantine fresco, which is also encountered in Post Byzantine examples is the division between neighbouring frescoes and the formation of backgrounds. The typical Late Byzantine style of separation between frescoes, which creates a frame around each scene and divides it from the next, in provincial fresco painting is a thick red line, almost three centimetres wide. Thick red lines as separation are encountered in numerous churches in Crete, Kastoria, Cyprus, and Mount Athos.\textsuperscript{21} It is interesting that even on circular surfaces such as in blind arches, on some occasions the artists did not amalgamate the available surface but divided it into rectangular spaces with these red lines, again creating framed scenes.

The formation of the background, which had included complex architectural depictions during the Palaeologian period, returned to simpler modes.\textsuperscript{22} Apart from the scenes where the background is part of the narrative and has to create a specific architectural space, the majority of wall paintings contain a monochromatic background, often divided into two or three horizontal layers by an alteration of colours; basically yellow,

\textsuperscript{18} Paisidou, Καστοριά, p. 277.
\textsuperscript{19} ibid., p. 266.
\textsuperscript{21} Lymberopoulou, Kavalariana, p. 134, Kalokyris, Wall Paintings, p. 147, Paisidou, Καστοριά, pl. 2-13, Stylianou, Cyprus, figs, 61, 96.
\textsuperscript{22} Paisidou, Καστοριά, p. 272.
dark blue, and black.\textsuperscript{23} The same motif was observed by Kostof in the churches of Cappadocia where the background was divided into three zones, usually blue and green, with the third layer functioning as a transitional horizon.\textsuperscript{24}

The society of the East was compartmentalised between the different Latin conquerors who settled there for generations. From the thirteenth century onwards, art began to serve multicultural groups and developed a distinct character that served their religious practices, customs, and places of worship.\textsuperscript{25} The regions where the Orthodox lived with the Catholics as ‘disadvantaged neighbours’ offered different standards of artistic expression from the cosmopolitan examples in Constantinople.\textsuperscript{26} As Lymberopoulou aptly commented for Venetian Crete, similarly Paliochora was not strictly a Byzantine society, but an amalgam of Eastern and Western traditions.\textsuperscript{27}

Specifically, the vast spectrum of iconography was produced during the Venetian dominion, and especially in the second phase in the end of the seventeenth century. The character of influence in the Venetian conquests was bidirectional. The Venetians gradually began to be assimilated into Greek culture and the Greeks came under the influence of new artistic elements and participated in all economic and social structures of the conquerors.\textsuperscript{28} However, Chatzidakis comments that even after centuries of contact, the Orthodox population continued to draw in a Byzantine mode and Acheimastou-Potamianou adds that there was only a selective acceptance of western

\textsuperscript{23} Paisidou, Καστροπτ, p. 272.
\textsuperscript{26} Cormack, Byantine Art, p. 200.
\textsuperscript{27} Lymberopoulou, Kavalariana, p. 218.
\textsuperscript{28} Maltezou, ‘Greek World’, p. 32.
influences. Crete and Cyprus are the two examples where Venetian influence can be discerned in wall paintings creating the so-called Italo-Byzantine style.

The cataloguing of frescoes in Post-Byzantine styles according to regions is problematic as geography is not always a determining factor. The variety observed, especially on the Greek islands, where churches from the same area provide completely a different iconographic result encumbers academic research. Paisidou’s research on the seventeenth-century churches of Kastoria identified many workshops, diversity of iconographic programmes, absence of repetition, attachment to tradition, but also new choices made by individual artists. Therefore, the frescoes of Paliochora are not treated as a unit, as part of a homogenous style, but are examined under thematic groups in order to define if the artists employed characteristics from Palaeologian wall painting or created an amalgam of old and new traditions.

The cataloguing of frescoes in Paliochora

The majority of frescoes included in this thesis are presented to the academic community for the first time. Scholars who were mentioned in the introductory chapter have published part of the available iconography focusing on the major churches such as Aghios Dionysios, Aghia Kyriaki, the Koimesis of the Theotokos, Aghios Nikolaos the North, and Aghios Georgios Katholikos. The main source is the articles of the late Professor Prokopiou who commented mainly on the iconographic programmes of Aghia

32 Paisidou, Καστοριά, pp. 265-296.
33 For more information, see pp. 11-12.
Kyriaki, the Koimesis of the Theotokos, and Aghios Nikolaos. In addition the archaeologist Pennas included references to fresco paintings in his extended introduction to Byzantine Aegina. However, the presentation of frescoes is strictly associated with the iconographic programme of each church and his remarks have a descriptive character, without any critical approach towards either the other frescoes in Paliochora or comparative material from other regions. Finally, Melita Emmanouil provided descriptions of the frescoes in Aghios Dionysios and Aghia Kyriaki. The nave of Aghia Kyriaki was also the theme of Bournia’s article. Once more the article is restricted to the cataloguing of the frescoes.

The archaeologist Klimopoulou mentioned in the epilogue of her research that in order embark on a coordinated mission to restore and promote the role of Paliochora, there is an urgent need to conduct a survey of its remaining frescoes. Four years after her statement this study offers a primary reading of the Late and Post Byzantine frescoes of the settlement.

The comparative analysis of frescoes follows a thematic and not a chronological division. This method of organisation has been determined after conducting research on different structural approaches in monographs debating similar issues of iconographic cataloguing in various regions of Greece. The two examples that played a vital role in the final choice were the survey of the monuments of Kastoria in

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38 I Klimopoulou, Παλισχώρα της Αίγινας – Ανάδειξη Αρχαιολογικού Χώρου, Διπλωματική Εργασία στα πλαίσια του Μεταπτυχιακού της Σχολής Αρχιτεκτόνων Μηχανικών, Ε.Μ.Π., Athens, 2008, pp. 125-126.
comparison to the churches of Veroia.\textsuperscript{39} Separating the frescoes into thematic groups helps the reader to comprehend the art historical evolution of each theme through the centuries instead of having to turn back and forth in order to verify information and to compare images of the same type. A thematic approach guarantees easier identification of stylistic influences and comparison of the details which appear in each scene with other examples, such as the style of figures, their placement, and the architectural space and motifs. Apart from these benefits, this citation solves a major problem of methodology, as there is not a definite date for the creation of all the frescoes determined through archaeological research. Their dating does not necessarily coincide with the construction date of the church, a fact that becomes more problematic due to the limited number of inscriptions. Further critical analysis of each individual theme brings issues related to their chronological framework, revealing the continuation of tradition or radical changes. By this thematic approach the thesis is able to estimate an approximate period of creation and to identify if the painters were influenced by contemporary or older examples.

The identification of the surviving scenes or figures was a primary task after collecting all the available data during fieldwork. On many occasions the inscriptions have faded out and the theme can be recognised only by their layout. The creation of charts was considered necessary in order to catalogue and manage the information (tabs. 5-10).

This analysis incorporates two approaches; first, a primary reading of each iconographic scene or subject appearing in Paliochora is established, moving toward a comparison with further examples from the Greek region. The examples are chosen under specific criteria, such as chronological affiliations, resemblance to the

\textsuperscript{39} Paisidou, Καστορίδη, Α Ραπαζωτος, \textit{Η Βέροια και οι Ναοί της (11ος-18ος αι.}-Ιστορική και Αρχαιολογική Σπουδή Των Μνημείων της Πόλης, Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού, Έκδοση του Ταμείου Αρχαιολογικών Πόρων και Απαλλοτριώσεων, Athens, 1994.
architectural style which in most cases influences the iconographic result, and relations with the same western conquerors present in Paliochora which may have influenced the artistic result. Therefore, the majority of examples originate from the area of Kastoria, Mistras, and the islands of Cyprus and Crete. The churches of Kastoria originate from the sixteenth, seventeenth centuries and are contemporary to the churches that were erected under the Venetians and the Ottomans in Paliochora and possess the majority of frescoes, while their number, size, placement on the hill, and function share similarities with the case-study of this research.⁴⁰ Mistras was occupied by Villehardouin family since 1249, and it is considered as an example of typical Late Byzantine architecture and iconography, but also provides examples from the fifteenth century.⁴¹ Finally, Cyprus and Crete are considered a meeting ground of Western and Byzantine traditions and are especially important Venetian conquests approximately at the same period when they occupied Paliochora.⁴² In Crete the majority of wall paintings date from the thirteenth to seventeenth centuries, the time frame given to the four construction periods of Paliochora.⁴³ In addition on Cyprus the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were charcterised by the presence of French conquerors, the Lusignan family such as Paliochora who were followed by a period of Venetian dominion.⁴⁴ This comparison will demonstrate the existence of Italo-Byzantine elements which are found in certain cases in Cyprus and Crete or the continuation of the Byzantine tradition.

⁴⁰ Paisidou, Καστοριά, pp. 23-38.
⁴¹ C Bouras, Βυζαντινή και Μεταβυζαντινή Αρχιτεκτονική στην Ελλάδα, Εκδοτικός Όικος Μέλισσα, Athens, 2001, pp. 93-95.
⁴³ Kalokyris, Wall Paintings, p. 23.
The iconographic programmes of the Late and Post Byzantine churches in Paliochora depict certain theological images of Christ and the Virgin, scenes from the *dodekaorton*, scenes and figures from the Old and the New Testament, and various saints. Due to their placement and thematology the frescoes can be easily divided into two categories; frescoes in the sanctuary along with the templon’s iconographic scheme, and frescoes in the nave. This categorisation is linked to the nature of themes included inside the two spaces and is followed in variety of monographs dealing with the analysis of the iconographic programme of a cluster of churches or a single one.\(^{45}\)

The character of the images in the sanctuary is more devotional and less descriptive, related mainly to the Eucharist, while the nave includes depictions of events and figural representations. The main volume of frescoes is found on the nave walls, from the ground level to the highest point of the vault. The presentation of the nave begins with the scenes from the *dodekaorton*, continues with further scenes from the New Testament, and ends with the army of saints, following the typical hierarchical organisation of Byzantine churches. The variety of saints is classified under subcategories such as military saints, monastic saints, doctor saints, martyrs, and female saints. Female saints can also be divided as doctors, martyrs or nuns, but because in the remaining frescoes of Paliochora their number is very restricted, they are examined all together as a group.

More specifically, in this settlement we find three iconographic types of the Virgin, four iconographic types of Christ, eight out of the twelve scenes of Christ’s cycle, eight scenes from the New Testament, one Archangel, five Prophets, three Apostles and thirty-three saintly figures of which only six are female. Of course, this catalogue of images does not represent the initial iconographic programme, as for example it would

be highly unusual for the artists to choose to depict only eight out of the twelve scenes of Christ’s life. The damage to the frescoes is a parameter of this thesis and conclusions are conducted only for surviving frescoes.\footnote{The lack of archives or written sources obscures any attempt to re-create the original internal decoration of the churches. However, on some occasions, the free architectural space and the canonical relationships between frescoes according to the Orthodox rite allows some assumptions.} All the frescoes of Paliochora are presented thematically in the appendix, which is the first complete database of the surviving frescoes of the churches in Paliochora on the island of Aegina. The images depict the state of frescoes during the period 2007-10 when the fieldwork was conducted and are accompanied by a description. It would be interesting, from a conservation point of view, to compare the recent photographs with the smaller database created by Prokopiou during the 1960s, which includes an adequate number of frescoes. Of course, this cannot be attempted in the frame of this thesis as its length does not allow such extended analyses.
CHAPTER III: Iconography of the Sanctuary

Organisation and themes

The sanctuary occupies a small percentage of the internal surface of the churches in Paliochora. In some cases, such as Aghios Stylianos and Aghios Nikolaos next to the Cathedral, barely two people can be present at the same time next to the altar. According to the Orthodox Canon law these would be the priest and boys from the Sunday school.¹ The entrance of women to the sanctuary was and still is forbidden, but at the moment the churches are not functioning and are treated as archaeological spaces. The frescoes inside the sanctuary represent specific subjects associated with the context of the liturgy, drawn on definite parts of the walls.² In the majority of cases, with the exception of the Church of the Metamorphosis and Aghios Dionysios, the themes do not depict actual events from the New Testament, but have a more devotional or Eucharistic character such as the Virgin of the conch, the Melismos, and the Man of Sorrows.³ Many are later additions from the twelfth century; reactions to theological discussions and the tendency to illustrate certain moments of the liturgy.⁴

The most prominent position, the conch of the apse, is given over to the depiction of the Virgin. It is the second most important position in an Eastern Church following the dome. As was explained in the previous chapter, only three churches in Paliochora have a dome, an event which automatically promotes the conch of the apse to the

ultimate hierarchical position. This position had been often occupied by the image of Christ in domeless churches. Examples are found in major churches such as the twelfth-century Royal Church at Monreale and the Cathedral of Cefalù in Sicily, but also provincial churches, such as the Archangel Michael at Kavalariana (1327/28), Aghios Ioannis Theologos at Elos in Chania (fourteenth century) and the majority of churches on Crete. In Paliochora all the surviving frescoes on the conches in the sanctuary follow the tradition which glorifies the Virgin as the intercessor between heaven and earth. The image of the Theotokos is also attached to the presence of the Church Fathers, who are usually depicted on the lower zone. The two arches which are created by the Prothesis and Diakonikon are traditionally related to Christ’s devotional images or are occupied by the Archangels.

The analysis of the sanctuary frescoes starts with the two cases which carry almost complete iconographic programmes. Some of the scenes or figures that are depicted on the walls of these sanctuaries are encountered in different positions elsewhere, mainly in the naves of the remaining churches in Paliochora. At this stage they are included as part of the presentation of the iconography of the sanctuary, but a stylistic analysis follows in the next subchapters as part of a thematic group.

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Complete Iconographic Programmes of the Sanctuary

Aghios Dionysios and the Church of the Metamorphosis are the two cases where the iconographic programme of the sanctuary has survived almost intact. Aghios Dionysios’ sanctuary includes thirty-five frescoes, the majority of which are in a poor state, especially the ones close to the dome and the apse. The sanctuary of the church of the Metamorphosis possesses sixteen frescoes which survive in generally a good condition.

The iconographic programme of the Cathedral focuses on a Middle Byzantine nave decoration, although the inscription clearly places its decoration to the sixteenth century. The frescoes include the Pantokrator, some prophets, the Evangelists, a representation of the zodiac cycle, a few scenes of Martyrdoms, one scene from the Apocryphal Infancy narratives of James and numerous saints. The sanctuary of Aghios Dionysios has a dome and an apse, but it was not the original sanctuary of the church. The organisation of the dome resembles the Middle Byzantine scheme where the central part was occupied by the Pantokrator, and the theme of Ainoi (Fig. 104).

The theme is identified by Psalm 148 written on the circle around the Pantokrator:

'ΕΝΗΤΕ ΤΟΝ ΚΥΡΙΟΝ ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΟΥΡΑΝΩΝ, ΕΝΗΤΕ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΥΨΗΣΤΗΣ, ΕΝΗΤΕ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΠΑΝΤΕΣ ΟΙ ΑΓΓΕΛΟΙ ΑΥΤΟΥ, ΕΝΗΤΑΙ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΠΑΣΑΙ Ε ΔΗΝΑΜΗΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΣΙ ΠΡΕΠΗ ΥΜΝΟΣ ΤΟ ΘΕΟ.'

The iconography of the Pantokrator varies, as he can be depicted in a bust from, standing or enthroned. In the Cathedral, though, Christ is represented as a full
Another disruption of traditional depiction included the placement of the prophets Moses, Daniel and one unidentified prophet on the north and south walls and not around the Pantokrator. In addition, the Evangelists are present through their symbols around the mandorla of the Pantokrator. The last fresco of the dome depicts a subject linked to post Byzantine theological repertoire of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; the zodiac cycle accompanied by the sun and the moon. This motif represents Psalm 148 V. 3, ‘praise him all his angels...ye sun and moon...praise him all ye stars of light’. It is also found in the Crucifixion in examples from the Middle Byzantine period, such as Hosios Loukas in Fokis (eleventh century) and later provincial ones such as in the Koimesis of the Theotokos in Paliochora (thirteenth century), and Panaghia Aghion Anargyron at Kastoria (sixteenth century).

The scene from the Apocryphal Infancy Narrative of James shows the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple which exists also in the nave of the Church of the Metamorphosis (Fig. 105). This juxtaposition described by Skawran as typical after the Middle Byzantine period is found in both churches. The Virgin is followed by Anna and Joachim and the seven daughters of Hebrews in front of a grey wall which serves the purpose of creating the architectural setting inside the temple. The only martyrdom scene in Aghios Dionysios’ sanctuary is John the Baptist’s Decapitation. At the moment, the fresco is severely damaged and it is recognized only by Pennas diagram of the frescoes of the sanctuary.

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16 Later versions exist in the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew and the Gospel of the Nativity of Mary.
The Church of the Metamorphosis includes frescoes depicting the Virgin of the apse and the Hierarchs which are examined individually further in this chapter, with the addition of events from the New Testament and saintly figures. The frescoes of Christ’s life are organised in groups of four, separated by the common red lines, creating a *tableau* of four frescoes (Fig. 106). The two groups are placed above the conches of the Prothesis and the Diakonikon. The wall above the Diakonikon has frescoes in better condition which present, from lower to upper part, the Nativity, the Presentation in the Temple, the Last Supper, and the Washing of the Feet. Often the Nativity is placed in relation to the Prothesis, but a similar placement in the Diakonikon is observed in Aghios Demetrios Eleousas at Kastoria (1608/9).\(^9\) On the other hand, above the wall of the Prothesis the artist depicted the Entry to Jerusalem, Peter’s Denial, the Incredulity of Thomas, and Pentecost (Fig. 107).

The next fresco which belongs in the *dodekaorton* is the Annunciation (Fig. 108). The placement of the Annunciation occupies a typical place for Byzantine art; over the triumphal arch. The Archangel Gabriel and the Virgin Mary are separated by the axis of the conch which is occupied by the motif of the Virgin Enthroned. Greek examples can be found in principal churches such as the Pammakaristos Church in Constantinople (twelfth century) and the Cathedral of Mistras (1310), or in provincial ones, such as Panagia of Moutoulla on Cyprus (1280) and the Archangel Michael at Kavalariana on Crete (1327/8).\(^{20}\) The iconographic programme of the sanctuary in the church of the Metamorphosis is completed by two frontal Hierarchs and a series of

\(^{19}\) The church was built in the end of the thirteenth century but the iconographic programme is dated with the renovation project in the beginning of the seventeenth century. M Paisidou, *Oi Τοιχογραφίες του 17ου Αιώνα στους Ναούς της Καστορίας: Συμβολή στη Μελέτη της Μνημειακής Ζωγραφικής της Δυτικής Μακεδονίας*, Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού, Ταμείο Αρχαιολογικών Πόρων και Απαλλοτριώσεων, Athens, 2002, p. 83.

saintly figures. The Hierarchs are not placed under the conch but occupy part of the south wall (Fig. 109). Unfortunately, the majority of saints are white-washed and there are not many inscriptions indicating their identity.

Above the Virgin Enthroned and the Annunciation there is a fresco depicting the Hospitality of Abraham; unfortunately in a bad condition (Fig. 110). This scene belongs to the Old Testament (Genesis 18, 1-15) and is clearly associated with the Eucharist.\(^{21}\) According to Mouriki this type was established in the repertoire of the Palaeologian period, but was also adopted by artists in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.\(^ {22}\) Its position helps its horizontal development. The middle angel turns his head towards the left, an element which comes to accordance to Mouriki’s observations for a turn to the left in the iconography of the scene from the fourteenth century onwards.\(^ {23}\) Second, the placement of Abraham and Sarah follows the prototype of separating the angels that is seen in Eisodia of Tsiapatas at Kastoria (1613).\(^ {24}\) They have smaller scale and seem closer to the architectonic background rather than the foreground of the fresco.

The conch images depicting the Virgin and the Child with the Officiating Hierarchs are found in all decorated sanctuaries in Paliochora. Therefore, they are examined under their particular thematic groups. The remaining frescoes are encountered in the naves of the decorated churches in Paliochora and they are going to be analysed in Chapter IV ‘Iconography of the Nave’.


\(^{22}\) Charalambous-Mouriki, ‘Η Παράσταση της Φιλοξενίας του Αβραάμ σε μια εικόνα του Βυζαντινού Μουσείου’, *Δελτίον Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας* series 4,3, 1962-3, pp. 87-114, p. 95.


\(^{24}\) Paisidou, *Kastoria*, pl. 74.
The iconographic scheme of the two sanctuaries is completely different mainly due to the fact that the present sanctuary of Aghios Dionysios is the result of later additions and did not function as one initially. Its organization and presentation of frescoes remains faithful Middle Byzantine prototypes, while the Church of the Metamorphosis presents the diversity found in regional internal ecclesiastical decoration.

**The Virgin of the apse**

The Virgin Orans and the Virgin Enthroned with Child Christ are the most common types for the representation of the Virgin inside the sanctuary; representations of the Virgin and Christ Child in different styles and postures on the conch of the apse.\(^{25}\) Robin Cormack in his article ‘The Mother of God in Apse Mosaics’ supports this idea that the most favourite place for the image of the Virgin is the eastern apse, above the altar where the rite of the Eucharist is performed.\(^{26}\) The theme appeared in the apse before Iconoclasm and was revived after the triumph of Orthodoxy.\(^{27}\)

The Virgin Orans is the iconographic type where the Mother of God is standing with her arms raised and her palms turned towards heaven, while Christ Emmanuel is floating over her chest.\(^{28}\) The Orans type is one of the oldest images of the Virgin with examples excavated in the catacombs of Saint Priscilla, Saint Agnes and Callistus in Rome.\(^{29}\) The fresco was often accompanied by the inscription ‘pete pro nobis’ (pray for

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\(^{27}\) Skawran, *Middle Byzantine Fresco*, p. 17.


us). On the other hand, the Enthroned Virgin sits between Gabriel and Michael, holds Christ and projects her role of the Mother of God. The angelic figures made their appearance from the sixth century onwards, Gabriel on the right and Michael on the left.

The evolution and standardisation of images of the Virgin during Byzantine history is complicated, due to the various theological debates, especially in the period of Iconoclasm. The term Theotokos was proclaimed at the Council of Ephesus in 431, organised to solve the controversies which had arisen over the nature of Christ. The result was the iconographic type of the Virgin Enthroned with the Child. Later on, during the ninth and tenth centuries, the Virgin was represented in the conch escorted by angels, while the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were dominated by the presence of the Enthroned version.

The Virgin and Child survive six times in Paliochora in the conch of the apse. That leaves room for speculation if in the remaining churches the conch followed the Cretan examples, which are occupied by the Pantokrator, or Mistras where the Virgin is the preferred subject. However, there is not a single example suggesting an alternative subject for the conch. The majority of examples, four in number, originate from churches of the two first construction periods, Taxiarchis Michael, Aghios Georgios Catholikos, Aghios Ioannis Theologos and Aghios Nikolaos the North, while only two examples survive from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in Aghioi Theodoroi and the Church of the Metamorphosis. These Late and Post Byzantine examples

30 Schug-Wille, Byzantine World, p. 16.
31 Vassilaki, Perceptions, pp. 91, 95, Mouriki, Nea Moni, p. 121.
33 M Aspra-Vardavaki & M Emmanouil, Η Μονή της Παντάνασσας στον Μιστρά: Οι Τοιχογραφίες του 15ου Αιώνα, Εποποιητική Τράπεζα της Ελλάδος, Athens, 2005, p. 68.
34 Lymberopoulou, Kavalariani, p. 22, Aspra-Vardavaki, Παντάνασσα, p. 69.
include four Orans models and two frescoes with the Virgin Enthroned. A parameter
which differentiates the frescoes is the presence or absence of the Archangels around
the maternal image and the existence of a lower zone occupied by the Church Fathers.

In all cases in Paliochora the Virgin appears with the Christ Child in her lap. Although it
is unusual to find her alone, there are earlier examples of the Orans without the Child
in Panaghia Chalkeon (1044) and Theotokos Phorbiotissa on Cyprus (1105/6).35 In the
Orans prototype Christ Emmanuel is floating in front of his mother in the same position
of prayer on a smaller scale, while in the Enthroned Virgin he sits on her lap. Another
characteristic which differentiates between the two types is that Christ is painted
frontally in the Virgin Orans while in the Virgin Enthroned he is presented as a three-
quarters figure blessing only with his right arm. There no example of frontal Christ in
the Enthroned models of Paliochora, known as the type of Theotokos Panachrantou,
seen mostly in eleventh century examples such as in Hosios Loukas.36 However, the
choice between the Orans or the Enthroned model does not seem to have
chronological significance in Paliochora, as one Enthroned example is found in the
church of Aghios Ioannis Theologos from the fourteenth century and the other in the
church of Metamorphosis which is dated to the seventeenth century (Fig. 111-112).

In Paliochora in all six cases the Virgin is covered with a red maphorion. The
vestments are generally loose, and fall from one shoulder encircling the body and
reaching the lower part of the legs. In the two Enthroned models the body is drawn in
full, allowing the appearance of a light blue dress underneath. The posture of the
Archangels which lean forward is observed in Aghios Nikolaos of Aghioi Anargyroi at
Kastoria (seventeenth century) and Taxiarchis Michael and is associated with the

35 D Evangelidis, Η Παναγία των Χαλκεών, Έκδοση των Φίλων της Βυζαντινής Μακεδονίας, Thessaloniki,
1954, fig. 9, Hein, fig. 28.
36 Aspra-Vardavaki, Παντάνασσα, p. 68.
iconographic features of the twelfth century. In Panaghia Podithou on Cyprus (1502), which was decorated under the Venetian influence, the Archangels wear sandals and not the traditional red buskins. In addition, their hair is loose and with lots of curls, bringing out an Italo-Byzantine character, which is totally absent in the relevant frescoes in Paliochora. The background is always monochromatic but varies between dark and light nuances, although it has faded through time. The only exception with two monochromatic zones in dark blue and yellow can be found in the conch of Aghios Georgios Katholikos.

The subject of the Virgin Orans in Taxiarchis Michael is almost identical, both in type and scale, with the Virgin of the apse in Aghios Nikolaos the North (Figs. 113-114). The only difference lies in the colour of the skin. In Aghios Nikolaos the North the artist drew the body surfaces in grey tones, while in Taxiarchis the skin has a more natural ochre colour. Similar to them, but unfortunately in much worse shape, is the Virgin Orans from Aghioi Theodori (Fig. 115). The similarities of the actual drawing, the brushstrokes, the colour palette, and the formation of drapery indicate that the fresco is probably from the same century if not from the same artist, from an artist of the same team. These frescoes expand across the entire surface of the conch. According to the descriptions of Talbot Rice for the Palaeologian Virgin, the eyebrows are curved; the eyes have almond shape with shading, and a long nose of Greeks. Here the eyebrows are intensively painted and the shadow underneath the eyes does not have a triangular shape, but consists of two curved lines mirroring the eyebrows, moving away from the example of Late Byzantine iconography in Pantanassa of Mistras (1428). Consequently, since the latter was constructed in the sixteenth century it is

37 S Pelekanidis, Καστορίδα Βυζαντινή Τοιχογραφίες: Πίνακες, Thessaloniki, 1953, fig. 181a. 
38 Hein, Cyprus, p. 64. 
39 Paisidou, Καστορίδα, pl. 1. 
41 Aspra-Vardavaki, Πανάθνασος, figs. 23-24.
probable the the iconographic programmes of Taxiarchis Michael and Aghios Nikolaos the North are not contemporary to their construction.

The example from Aghios Georgios Katholikos is the only Virgin Orans with busts of angels in the upper corners, seen frequently in all the surviving examples in Kastoria from the seventeenth century (Fig. 116).\(^{42}\) The Virgin’s palms are open and are almost the same size as the face. The face, unfortunately, is not in a very good state and as a result it is difficult to discriminate characteristic features or expression. Only the small, firmly closed lips lead to the assumption of a severe and concentrated expression. Christ’s arms are also raised, but this time the fingers are crossed implying the gesture of blessing. Although, the position is frontal, his look is not forward, but falls diagonally to the left corner. The forehead is carefully designed as one third of the facial surface, while the nose is longer than one quarter, implied by the rules of Byzantine iconography.\(^{43}\) The conch figures in Aghios Georgios Katholikos do not match stylistically the other examples of the fourteenth century (the Koimesis of the Theotokos and Aghios Ioannis Theologos). They resemble to the style of the three previous frescoes and the examples at Kastoria and probably belong to a later period.\(^{44}\)

The examples of the Enthroned Virgin survive in the churches of Aghios Ioannis Theologos and the Metamorphosis. In both cases the scenes include the Virgin seated on a golden throne, the Christ Child on her lap and the two Archangels to either side. The throne is accompanied with the usual footstool. A huge throne, not seen in Paliochora, is a characteristic of the fourteenth century.\(^{45}\) The figures are depicted in full length and in both cases a mixture of frontal and three quarters positions are

\(^{42}\) Paisidou, Καστοριά, pp. 59-61.
\(^{43}\) J Winfield, Proportion and Structure of the Human Figure in Byzantine Wall Painting and Mosaic, B.A.R., Oxford, 1982, p. 37.
\(^{44}\) Pennas, Αγία, p. 48.
\(^{45}\) Aspra-Vardavaki, Πανόραμα, p. 71.
incorporated. Although the Virgin gazes directly at the faithful, the lower part of her body turns to the side; in the church of the Metamorphosis in the same direction as Christ and in Aghios Theologos in the opposite direction. This fresco has similarities with the Mother of God in the conch of the Panaghia of Arakos in Lagoudera on Cyprus (1192).\(^46\) In both cases, large parts of the fresco have been destroyed or white washed, making the identification of drapery techniques and details a difficult procedure.

The chronological difference between the construction and decoration of the two churches could not have allowed the involvement of the same artists in the project. However, it is possible that the fresco from Aghios Ioannis Theologos was decorated later after the destructions of the sixteenth century as part of the renovation projects encouraged by the Venetians. The common lines, colour palette, figural representation and shaping are completely identical in the two frescoes. Even the normal depiction of the face of the infant Christ, as an ordinary infant with chubby cheeks and wide, is completely avoided.\(^47\) Instead, Christ's face, and especially his nose, is elongated and reveals the severity of a Hierarch. Furthermore, the examples have similarities in the above elements with a late fifteenth century example on Crete in Saint Anne at Anisaraki, painted in the period of Venetian dominion.\(^48\)

The stylistic differences between the two types assign a different role to the frescoes. The Virgin Orans accepts the role of the intercessor of the world, the one who prays for humanity, while the Enthroned Virgin projects the role of the Mother of God.\(^49\) The frescoes of the Virgin in the apse in Paliochora do not resemble Late Byzantine


\(^{47}\) Winfield, Lagoudera, p. 87.


\(^{49}\) Stylianou, *Cyprus*, p. 98.
examples and although the Italo-Byzantine style observed in Cyprus is absent, it is probable that the frescoes were executed during the phase of renovation under the second ruling of the Venetians during the seventeenth century.

The Liturgy of the Church Fathers

The theme of the Virgin in the conch of the apse is completed by a lower horizontal zone depicting the Church Fathers with the exception of Aghioi Theodoroi. The motif represents the four Hierarchs of the Orthodox rite and became part of the fixed iconographic programme in Late Byzantine painting. The standard depiction includes Aghios Vasileios (330-379), Aghios Ioannis Chrysostomos (ca. 344-407), Aghios Gregorios Nanzianzinos or Theologos (ca. 330-390), and frequently one of the following, Aghios Athanasios of Alexandria (298-373), Aghios Iakovos Adelftotheos (c. 62), Aghios Dionysios (2nd century) or Aghios Nikolaos (c. 330). The choice of the fourth Hierarch usually depends on local preferences. In addition, the presence of the Hierarchs is associated with the next image under discussion, Melismos, where their number can vary.

The identity of the Hierarchs is recognised both by the texts on their scrolls and the inscriptions that survive above their heads. According to Malmquist the depiction of the Church Fathers followed a frontal position with a closed codex during the eleventh and twelfth centuries (Saint Sophia at Ohrid/1037-56, Aghios Nikolaos Kasnitzi and Aghioi Anargyroi at Kastoria/twelfth century), while in the end of the twelfth century a new

52 Paisidou, *Καστοριά*, pp. 62-64.
53 Ibid., pl. 33a, 33b, 34b.
type appeared, depicting three-quarter figures holding open scrolls.\textsuperscript{54} Their transference inside the sanctuary had a specific purpose to underline the meaning of the Eucharist and to reinforce the role of Christ as the ultimate Hierarch.\textsuperscript{55}

Apart from the Officiating Hierarchs, there are three cases where a fresco of the Hierarchs exists individually and is placed in different positions inside the nave, frequently on the south wall, next to edge of the templon. The three frescoes are found in Aghios Efthymios, Aghios Georgios Katholikos, and Aghia Kyriaki (Figs. 117). Besides these there is a final fresco with two Hierarchs in the conch of the Diakonikon in the Church of the Metamorphosis depicting only two standing figures holding a closed codex (Fig. 109).

The Hierarchs which complete the Orans model are drawn as bust images in three-quarter positions (Fig. 118). This artistic choice is basically linked to the length of the conch which is dominated by the image of the Virgin and the Child. The placement of the Hierarchs is identical in all cases, following the standard manner of depiction. There is a theoretical axis which separates the conch into two quarters. Each quarter hosts two Church Fathers turned towards the direction of the altar, facing each other. In the church of Aghios Ioannis Theologos, the fourth Hierarch is not identified by an inscription and his appearance does not match to Aghios Athanasios or Aghios Nikolaos who are usually depicted as old men (Fig. 119-120). It is probable that the Hierarch is Aghios Eleftherios, described in the \textit{Hermeneia} as a young man with signs of beard.\textsuperscript{56} On the north side of the fresco in Aghios Nikolaos the North the artist drew Aghios Gregorios and Aghios Ioannis Chrysostomos while the other side is occupied by Aghios

Vasileios and Aghios Nikolaos (Fig. 121-122). The same format, but only with two
Hierarchs, Aghios Ioannis Chrysostomos to the North and Aghios Vasileios to the
South, is followed in Taxiarchis Michael (Fig. 123). Their placement is not random;
Aghios Vasileios and Aghios Ioannis Chrysostomos are always depicted in the middle,
as writers of the liturgy of the Eucharist.\textsuperscript{57} In the scroll of Aghios Vasileios is inscribed
‘No-one of those is worthy who is bound by carnal desire’. It can be clearly read in the
fresco from Taxiarchis Michael. Aghios Ioannis Chrysostomos declares ‘God, our God,
who is the bread of heaven…’, again identified in the same fresco which survives in
good condition. Aghios Gregorios Theologos is linked with the phrase ‘The Holy God
resting on the saint, the thrice holy…’ seen in Aghios Ioannis Theologos, and finally,
Aghios Athanasios states ‘Again and often we fall down before thee…’ written in the
fresco from the church of the Metamorphosis. Additionally, their facial characteristics
follow their traditional types which were established through time and have been
recorded in the \textit{Hermeneia} later in the eighteenth century. Aghios Vasileios has ‘brown
hair, with a long beard’, Aghios Ioannis Chrysostomos is ‘a young man with short
beard’, and Aghios Gregorios Theologos is ‘an old man, with side smoke-like beard’.
\textsuperscript{58} However, initially Aghios Gregorios Theologos had short hair, broad beard and bulbous
forehead. The new portrait resembles more Aghios Vasileios and was introduced during
the tenth-eleventh centuries.\textsuperscript{59}

The three examples with frontal Hierarchs on the nave walls and the Diakonikon of the
Church of the Metamorphosis are the ones in worse shape. The heads have not
survived and large parts of the surface have been whitewashed. As there are no
inscriptions it is not easy to identify their exact placement. One interesting element

\textsuperscript{57} Malmquist, \textit{Castoria}, p. 37.
\textsuperscript{58} Dionysios of Fourna, \textit{The Painter’s Manual} p. 54. Descriptions can be also found in L Hadermann-Misguich,
\textsuperscript{59} The new appearance is observed in the trilogy of ivory triptychs of the eleventh century which include
standing figures of the Hierarchs, the Harbaville triptych, the Vatican triptych and the Palazzo Venezia
exists in Aghios Georgios Katholikos where the fresco is divided into two vertical zones through a thick red frame (Fig. 124). The line does not separate the figures in pairs, but instead forms a group of three figures in the right part, leaving one figure standing alone in the left part. According to the Orthodox faith the three inseparable Hierarchs are Aghios Vasileios, Aghios Gregorios Nanzianzinos, and Aghios Ioannis Chrysostomos. It can easily be assumed, although no facial feature or inscription survives, that the artist chose to present the group of three Fathers separately from the fourth who most probably is Aghios Athanasios, based on the choice of the previous examples. Additionally, in Aghios Efthymios the fresco depicts only three figures (Fig. 125). The placement in these churches creates a paradox, as the phenomenon of their placement outside the sanctuary and in a frontal position is usually found earlier than the twelfth century. However, all the churches which are part of this discussion date from the thirteenth century onwards, but return to older iconographic models.

Regardless of their placement in the sanctuary or nave, their frontal or three-quarters position, the Hierarchs are drawn following the same principles. In the majority of cases the Hierarchs wear sakkos, polystavrion, phelonion, omophorion, epitrachelion, encherion and epimanika in different colours and with different decorative patterns. The phelonion and the omophorion became permanent elements in the iconography of Orthodox Bishops in the post-iconoclastic period. The appearance of a phelonion with different variations of crosses is usually depicted from the thirteenth century onwards. All the representations, regardless their differences in placement, length of figures, and attributes, are dominated by hieratical austerity and rhythmical repetition.

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60 Paisidou, Καστοριδ, p. 62.
61 Skawran, Middle Byzantine Fresco, p. 105.
62 The details of their vestments are described in the image appendix at the end of the thesis.
63 Hadermann-Misguich, Kurbinovo, p. 87.
Melismos (Officiating Hierarchs)

The iconographic repertoire of the conch of the apse devoted to Eucharistic themes is completed by the scene of Melismos. It is the term used for the ritual of breaking the bread before the Holy Communion (Matthew 26, 26; Mark 14, 22; Luke 22,19; Acts of the Apostles 2, 42). This iconographic type symbolizes the transubstantiation of bread into Body and wine into Blood, the liturgical expression for the ‘fraction’ before the communion. In this scene Christ is depicted on the altar as an infant, covered only by a cloth. The iconographic pattern is accompanied by a specific hymn which is sung by the priest at the exact moment of slicing the bread; ‘Χριστός πρόκειται καὶ μελιζεῖται Θεός’.

The origins of Melismos are attributed to former images of the Christ Child. The scene appeared in Orthodox churches from the late twelfth century onwards, documented first at Kurbinovo (1192), a little later than the theme with the assembly of Hierarchs, belonging to the category of later additions to the iconographic programme during the Palaeologian period and was well established by the fourteenth century. In examples of the twelfth and thirteenth century, the Child if often omitted, while the Late and Post Byzantine examples of Melismos are distinguished by the diminished size of the infant.

Only two examples of the scene survive in Paliochora in the churches of Taxiairchis Michael and Aghios Ioannis Theologos. The pattern of depiction is not the same, both in terms of Christ’s representation and of the Hierarchs’ placement. In Taxiairchis Michael Christ is drawn inside the Eucharistic chalice in a standing frontal position while in Aghios Ioannis Theologos he is drawn lying on the altar (Figs. 123, 126). This

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64 Lymberopoulou, Kavalariana, p. 38.
65 Schulz, Byzantine Liturgy, p. 107.
66 Christ is offered and God is dismembered’, C Walter, Pictures as Language: How the Byzantines Exploited Them, Pindar, London, 2000, p. 239.
67 Ibid.
68 Paisidou. Κατοριδ, p. 67.
difference is explained chronologically in the evolution of the type. The depiction where Christ is inside the chalice is a later theme.\textsuperscript{70} According to Dufrenne and Grabar, this type appeared for the first time during the fifteenth century in the church of Evangelistria in Mistras.\textsuperscript{71} The theme was established later in Middle Eastern iconography producing examples such as the one in Surb Bethlehem, New Julfa, in Iran, at the beginning of the seventeenth century.\textsuperscript{72} In this evolution of the type Christ is depicted as a man. The Hierarchs after the fourteenth century are depicted in three-quarters with their gaze focused on the altar.\textsuperscript{73} Taxiarchis Michael is an older church but possesses a later iconographic type in comparison with Aghios Ioannis Theologos which possesses the traditional first depiction. The second difference is observed in the placement of the Hierarchs. In the fresco in Aghios Ioannis Theologos, Christ is surrounded first by angelic figures and then by the Hierarchs, as in Aghios Stephanos at Kastri on Crete (1391).\textsuperscript{74} The variations of the scene continue in other regions of Greece. In Aghios Nikolaos at Aghioi Anargyroi (end of seventeenth century) in Kastoria, for example, the Hierarchs are drawn as full figures and look down at a very low altar and in Aghios Nikolaos of Archontissa Theologina in Kastoria (1663), Christ inside the chalice is placed under a kivorion.\textsuperscript{75}

The notion of sacrifice is underlined in Later Byzantine painting. The proof can be found in the new subjects which are added to the iconographic programmes and are related to the holy sacrament.\textsuperscript{76} The \textit{Melismos} continued to acquire a prominent position in the iconography of the altar and evolved over centuries. A standard

\textsuperscript{70} Paisidou, Καστοριδ, p. 63.
\textsuperscript{73} Millet, \textit{Mistra}, p. 91-99.
\textsuperscript{74} I Spatharakis, \textit{Dated Byzantine Wall Paintings of Crete}, Alexandros Press, Leiden, 2001, fig. 129.
\textsuperscript{75} Paisidou, Καστοριδ, pl. 32b, 33a.
depiction of the eighteenth century was the Zoiforos Artos, where the artist represents the final stage before the acceptance of Communion.\footnote{Zoiforos Artos is translated as the Bread which brings Life in A Paliouras, Βυζαντινή Απολογικονια: Συμβολή στη Βυζαντινή και Μεταβυζαντινή Μνημειακή Τέχνη, Athens, 1985, fig. 251.}

**Aghio Mandylion**

This iconographic type depicts the appearance of Christ’s face in the Image of Edessa. According to the legend the Image of Edessa was a holy cloth upon which a miraculous image of Christ’s face was imprinted. Eusebius of Caesarea, around 300, in his book *Ecclesiastical History*, gave the earliest documentation of the legend.\footnote{Eusebius of Caesaria, Εκκλησιαστική Ιστορία, p. 20, 120B-129C.} Its tradition is long and complex, but research conducted since the first decades of the twentieth century has set a clear ground for its study.\footnote{A Grabar, ‘La Sainte Face de Laon: Le Mandylion dans l’Art Orthodox, Zographika 3, Prague, 1931, pp. 143-152, A Cameron, ‘The History of the Image of Edessa: The Telling of a Story’, Okeanos 7, 1983, pp. 80-97, C Walter, ‘The Abgar Cycle at Mateic’, SBK festschrift für Horst Hallensleben zum 65. Geburtstag, Amsterdam, 1995, pp. 221-231.}

The theme became standard after the end of the dispute between Alexios Comnenos (1081-1118) and the Bishop of Chalcedona, Leo.\footnote{A Glavinas, Η επί Αλέξιου Κομνηνοῦ (1081-1118) περί Ιερών Σκευών Κειμηλίων και Αγίων Εικόνων Έρις (1081-1095), Thessaloniki, 1972, pp. 54-187.} During the Middle Byzantine period, it was part of the iconography of the dome, and more specifically over the east arch.\footnote{Ε Σιμεονίδου, Αχειρωποίητες Εικόνες του Χριστού και της Παναγίας, Μεταπτυχιακή Εργασία, Αριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο, Thessaloniki, 2009, p. 22.} Therefore, it had to acquire a new position in the small, vaulted provincial churches of the Late and Post Byzantine period, often on the east wall of the sanctuary.\footnote{Πασιδού, Καστόρια, p. 74.} In examples of the twelfth and thirteenth century it is found on the walls of the nave, especially on lintels, such as the examples of the Archangel Michael at Kato Lefkara on Cyprus and in Gradac at Sopočani (end of twelfth century).\footnote{A & J Stylianou, The Painted Churches of Cyprus II, London, 1985, fig. 172, G Millet & A Frolow, La Peinture du Moyen Age en Yougoslavie II (Serbie, Macédoine, Montenegro), Paris, 1957, figs. 30.4, 63.2.} In the region of Greece
the new position was above the Virgin of the conch; a place dogmatically acceptable because it can be associated to the Eucharistic cycle depicted in the sanctuary.  

Generally, the subject was popular at the end of the thirteenth and in the fourteenth century, but continued to appear sporadically in examples during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. A seventeenth century example is found in the Church of the Metamorphosis in Paliochora. Other examples of the latter phase in the seventeenth century are encountered in Aghios Nikolaos at Aghioi Anargyroi in Kastoria, in Aghioi Anargyroi at Servies and in Aghios Demetrios at Palatitsia.

In Paliochora it appears four times in the sanctuary of Taxiarchis Michael, Aghioi Theodoroi, Aghios Dionysios and the Church of the Metamorphosis (Figs. 127-128). The representation of the Mandylion follows two types: the old one where the cloth is straight (Panaghia Arakos at Lagoudera on Cyprus/1192) and the suspended in a form of a curtain (Aghios Demetrios at Livadi-Selino on Crete/1293). Except the fresco in the Church of the Metamorphosis, the representations in Paliochora follow the latter type with the suspended cloth. In contrast, the image in the Church of the Metamorphosis is differentiated both in style and placement, as it follows the first depiction and it is drawn above the arch of the Diakonikon as in the Perivleptos church in Mistras from the fifteenth century (Fig. 129). The upper part is not in a straight line but follows the curve of the arch. Another addition in the case of Taxiarchis is the angels holding Gospels. In none of the cases we encounter the older type of a completely rectangular cloth which observed not only in Middle Byzantine examples,

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84 S Pelekanidis, Καλλιέργης, Ὀλης Θετολίας Άριστος Ζωγράφος, Athens, 1973, p. 16.
85 A Grabar, ‘La Sainte Face’, p. 143-152.
86 Paisidou, Καστορίδα, p. 74, A Xungopoulos, Τα Μνημεία των Σερβίων, Athens, 1957, fig.23.
87 Aspra-Vardavaki, Πανάνασσα, p. 150.
Panaghia of Arakos on Cyprus (1192), but also in later examples, such as in Aghios Sozomenos (1513) and the Archangel Michael (1514) at Galatas on Cyprus.89

**Man of Sorrows**

The *Imago Pietatis* is a portrait of piety, the passion portrait of Jesus as conceived by the artists of the medieval period.90 The Man of Sorrows, as it is known in Western art or the *Akra Tapeinos* in Eastern art (Isaiah 53:8), expresses the greatest paradox of the Christian faith; the God who died as a man joining life and death. The image symbolically represents Christ in a state between the Crucifixion and Resurrection.91 Among the artists of the end of the fourteenth century discussed in Belting’s book *The Image and Its Public in the Middle Ages*, it was considered as the most pious subject they could paint.92

For the first time in this discussion of the iconographic programme of the sanctuary, a theme appears which can easily be linked to the Western tradition, as the Venetian played and important role in its development and transmission.93 Therefore, at this point the research has to turn to examples from the West. The aim of the analysis is primarily to identify certain patterns within the iconography of Paliochora and then try to identify influences, if any, from western tradition.

The image of the dead Christ standing naked in his sarcophagus appeared for the first time in the twelfth century in the Greek peninsula. It was one of the latest images

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89 Stylianou, II, pp. 86, 88.
added to the Byzantine repertoire before it was transmitted to the West. One of the oldest panels of the Man of Sorrows on a processional icon is the bilateral image (115*77.5*3.5 cm) from Kastoria dated to the final quarter of the twelfth century, combining the Man of Sorrows and the Virgin Hodegetria.\(^{94}\) The same pattern of bilateral icon, but in the form of a diptych (32.2*22.8 cm left wing, 32.4*22.8 cm right wing), is kept in the National Gallery of London and is dated between 1250 and 1260.\(^{95}\) It is known to have been created by an Umbrian artist and is the earliest surviving Italian example of the Man of Sorrows paired with the Virgin and the Child. A known example, dated in 1300, which was created in Constantinople and was transferred to Venice around 1380, is the micromosaic with the Man of Sorrows, which now can be found in the Basilica di Santa Croce in Gerusalemne in Rome.\(^{96}\) The object combines a Byzantine icon with western elements such as coat of arms. The type was adopted in western iconography, but to a more westernised vocabulary. The above examples show that the Western model of the Man of Sorrows was not restricted to a bust size as the original Eastern prototype, but it was elongated and reached the navel area. The body was covered with a white loin-cloth to prevent total humiliation. A normal consequence was that the arms were no longer crossed under the chest as in the first examples of the thirteenth century but lower, closer to the pelvic area in a burial position, emphasising the service on Holy Saturday.\(^{97}\) On the addition of a sarcophagus Dufrenne comments that it first appeared in the Perivleptos at Mistras and then passed into the iconography of the West.\(^{98}\) The drawing of the sarcophagus was governed by different techniques in the East and West and provides an easy way to identify origins. In the Eastern prototype whenever there is a sarcophagus it is presented following a

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reversed perspective mode. The Cross of Martyrdom, that was a prominent feature of the icon as it occupied the whole background behind Jesus’ face, became thinner and was pushed back as decoration in the background, behind the sarcophagus which was promoted to the dominant object. Another significant difference originating in German territories, but later expanded to the rest of the Catholic countries was the state of the eyes. Gradually the European model of the Man of Sorrows was presented closer to a living state with open eyes. A characteristic example of the first Man of Sorrows in the West in a wooden panel (62.2*38 cm) from Naples by Roberto Oderisi, dated around 1354, currently in the Fogg Art Museum at Harvard University Art Museums.

The third phase which primarily concerns this thesis incorporating the examples of Paliochora, involves the return of the Man of Sorrows in an Orthodox context, but without ignoring certain changes that were enforced by the West, usually in regions where the Latin element was present.

The Man of Sorrows was frequently placed in the conch of the Prothesis next to the holy altar. The iconography in the Prothesis was not always standard in the previous centuries and included subjects such as the Archangels, the Lamb of God and the Nativity. The selection of the space for the Man of Sorrows fulfilled all the spiritual connotations of the devotional image in relation to the actual usage of space. The proximity with the conch of the altar was called for by the liturgical and Eucharistic

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99 In reversed perspective the size of the figures or objects does not depend on the distance from the spectator, but on their hierarchical importance and thus asserts the value directly and ignores the external effect of perspective. An interesting analysis on reverse perspective is presented in C Antova, Space, Time, and Presence in the Icon: Seeing the World with the Eyes of God, Ashgate Studies in Theology, Imagination and the Arts, Surrey, 2010, pp. 29-62, 103-152.
100 Tradigo, Icons, p. 198.
content of the image, separating it from its historical view and promoting it to a devotional level.

The theme of the Man of Sorrows survives in five churches in Paliochora placed in the same position, the conch of the Prothesis. The five churches which contain this devotional image are: Aghios Georgios Katholikos, Aghios Ioannis Theologos, Aghia Kyriaki in the sanctuary of Zoodochos Pege, Aghioi Theodoroi, and Timios Stavros. Unfortunately, the condition of the fresco in Aghioi Theodoroi does not allow room for extensive analysis (Fig. 130). However, judging by the surface of the monochromatic background it is obvious that the fresco in Aghioi Theodoroi included only Christ in three-quarters position, turned towards the altar. The only fresco which includes a frontal Man of Sorrows standing alone, without the Virgin and the Apostle John, is in Zoodochos Pege (Fig. 131). The available space under Christ’s body, shows possible existence of a sarcophagus. The body is elongated, and the cross is barely seen inside the blue background. An equivalent example is recorded by Bacci in the Armenian Church of Famagusta on Cyprus, were frescoes give ‘evidence of italianate presence’.\textsuperscript{104} Although the five frescoes are not identical, there is a common point in all cases; the floral decoration on the arch of the conch which is decorated with thin, continuous foliage in black. The exact same motif is found on the conch of a thirteenth-century, Italo-Byzantine fresco of the Virgin and Child at Panaghia Chryseleousa on Cyprus.\textsuperscript{105}

The third example belongs to the fourteenth-century church of Aghios Georgios Katholikos; however the analysis of its iconographic programme progressively shows that the frescoes originate from later centuries, possibly during the second Venetian

period (Fig. 132). The Man of Sorrows in the conch of the Prothesis is the best preserved fresco of the group in Paliochora. The image is presented in fully reversed perspective view, clearly identified by the unrealistic shape of the sarcophagus. The fresco includes three figures, a pattern not encountered in the original view of the image in Kastoria.\(^\text{106}\) Christ is drawn on the front level, while the other figures with their smaller size seem to be one layer back. The sorrow of the Virgin and the Apostle John is shown with the characteristic movement of placing their hands to their cheeks.\(^\text{107}\) The body of Christ follows the Western prototype, drawn until the navel with the arms crossed lower than the chest and the eyes closed. The cross in the background is barely distinguished and becomes narrow. There are neither instruments of the passion nor the usual inscription on the monochromatic background.

The second example from a fourteenth-century church can be found in Aghios Ioannis Theologos (Fig. 133). The format here returns to the first type of depiction with the bust of Christ alone, a fact that probably shows that the fresco was drawn at that period before the establishment of the Venetians on the island. The existence of the sarcophagus and the placement of the arms cannot be confirmed as the fresco has not survived complete. However, judging by the length of the conch there is space for a sarcophagus. The absence of the Virgin and the Apostle John follows that tradition of the first depictions but may be also linked with the shortage of space. Next to the fresco of the Man of Sorrows the artist depicts the deacon Stephanos, identified also as the Protomartyr. The deacon is part of the iconography of the sanctuary as a participant of the liturgy and his association with Christ’s sacrifice. According to

\(^{106}\) Cormack, Byzantium, figs 247.1-2.

\(^{107}\) The gesture of raising the hand to the face is explained in literature since the Early Christian times. The writer Cyprian refers to a youth: ‘...anxious and rather sad with certain indignation, holding his chin in his hand...’, Epistulae, XI, 4.
Lymberopoulou, he is frequently placed under the Archangel Gabriel of the Annunciation; but in this case the latter is absent.\textsuperscript{108} His face is delicate, young and beardless, without revealing any sorrow which would be contradictory to the message of hope brought by Resurrection.\textsuperscript{109} His vestments include a red mantle falling from his left shoulder and he holds an incense box decorated by gems, following the traditional depiction.\textsuperscript{110}

The last example comes from the seventeenth century. The image from Timios Stavros is almost a replica of the one in Aghios Georgios Katholikos regarding composition and the posture of figures (Fig. 134). The only difference is that in the background the artist added the instruments of the Passion, which create diagonal axes intersecting on the Cross, but they are not easily distinguished due to the dark colouring.\textsuperscript{111} Something interesting in this church is that the Crucifixion scene exists, so there is an immediate connection of the patterns between its forerunner scene and the Man of Sorrows. Belting in his article, identified a close relationship between the Man of Sorrows with the Pantokrator and the Crucifixion. The first is a composition of the bust of the Pantokrator and the naked body of the Crucifixion.\textsuperscript{112} The overview of the fresco in Timios Stavros gives the impression that the artist copied the Crucifixion and simply changed the background. The three figures are presented in juxtaposition, while the only difference is the movement of the head which looks upon the cross, a later addition to the iconography of the Crucifixion.\textsuperscript{113} The style of the fresco, without the

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{Lymberopoulou, \textit{Kavalariana}, p. 46.}
\footnote{Tradigo, \textit{Icons}, p. 272.}
\footnote{Although the Cross on the background is a standard iconographic detail, the lance and sponge are more unusual in the fourteenth-century art and are encountered in later centuries in Greece. T Papamastorakis, \textit{Ο Διάκοσμος του Τρούλου των Ναών της Παλαιολόγειας Περιόδου στη Βαλκανική Χερσόνησο και την Κύπρο}, Athens, 2001, p. 91.}
\footnote{Belting, \textit{Image}, pp. 6-7, 91.}
\footnote{Mouriki, \textit{Nea Moni}, p. 131.}
\end{footnotes}
figures of the Virgin and John, is found in Aghios Nikolaos of Aghioi Anargyroi (seventeenth century) and Aghios Nikolaos Theologinas (1663) at Kastoria. The image of the Man of Sorrows appears in Paliocchora both in its simple depiction with the figure of Christ alone, which is influenced by the original depiction of Kastoria and as an evolution of the Crucifixion pattern with the Virgin and the Apostle John. The examples from Aghios Ioannis Theologos and Aghioi Theodoroi include the austere model which is also seen in seventeenth century examples at Kastoria (Aghios Demetrios Eleousas/1608). The examples in Aghios Georgios Katholikos and Timios Stavros share the same juxtaposition of figures, the same expressions of sorrow, while the sarcophagus and the Cross on the background drawn with the same stylistic approach. Taking into consideration that the two frescoes are almost identical, the hypothesis that the frescoes of the sanctuary of Aghios Georgios Katholikos are dated to the seventeenth century is verified by the last examples of its iconography. Except for Aghios Ioannis Theologos, the frescoes were painted during the period of the Venetian domination. However, they represent different examples and apart from the foliage around the arch of the Prothesis, the depiction of bodies and gestures resembles the Byzantine models found in cities such as Kastoria, where the Latin element was never present. Consequently, the choice of depiction of the Man of Sorrows relied on the personal preferences of the artists. A possible influence from the Venetian community cannot be excluded, since the Man of Sorrows is a theme often presented in western examples of ecclesiastical iconography. The existence of the image in a better state in Zoodochos Pege which was most probably used by the Latins would have offered another perspective in this analysis.

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114 Paisidou, Καστοριά, pp. 71-72, pl. 39b.
**Iconography of the templon**

As identified in Chapter I, twenty-eight churches possess an iconostasis, either in stone or wood.\(^{115}\) Surviving examples incorporating standard images still exist in six churches. However due to the different formations of each templon, having one or two holy doors, and the small width of the churches on some occasions the result varies. The churches which possess a decorated templon are Aghios Georgios Katholikos, Aghia Kyriaki, Aghioi Anargyro, Aghia Makrina, Timios Stavros, and the Church of the Metamorphosis, but not all the figures have survived intact. The remaining templa of Paliochora without frescoes are decorated with portable icons brought by the faithful, and placed in random positions.

The accustomed depiction when the church has one central Holy Door is the Virgin and the patron saint towards the North, Christ and John the Baptist towards the South.\(^{116}\) However, only one example has this classic arrangement; Aghia Kyriaki (Fig. 99). In the other five churches the templon follows the formation of two Holy Doors, asymmetrical towards the central axis of the east wall. This choice complicates the placement of frescoes, depending on how much available surface is left on the north and south sides. Thus, there are examples such as Aghios Georgios Katholikos, Aghia Makrina and Aghioi Anargyro where the normal depiction excludes the figure of the commemorated saint on the north edge of the iconostasis, and cases such as the Holy Cross and the Metamorphosis, where John the Baptist is placed in a different position to facilitate the work of the painter. The same examples can be found in the churches of Kastoria with the same placement of holy doors, where the usual iconographic types

\(^{115}\) See Table 2 in the appendix, where the twenty-five churches with stone templa are indicated. The churches with a wooden templon are only three (the Cathedral, Zoodochos Pege, and the Church of the Metamorphosis), but they are later additions, that is why they are not included.

\(^{116}\) Cormack, *Byzantine Art*, p. 211.
of the Virgin or Christ of the templon are found in different positions on the walls of the churches.117

- **The Virgin on the templon**

The Virgin of the templon can be represented by different types, depending on the chronological period and prevailing tendencies. She is traditionally depicted as *Hodegetria*, the Mother of God Enthroned, *Glykofilousa*, or *Eleousa*.118 The favourite pre-iconoclastic type was the Virgin *Hodegetria*, while in the Palaeologian period there was a tendency to the *Glykofilousa* type which promoted the practice of depicting emotions. However, in settlements with churches from the sixteenth and seventeenth century, such as Kastoria, both types are encountered.119

The examples from Paliochora do not vary. The examples in Aghioi Anargyroi and Aghia Makrina are not included in this iconographic research, as they are products of twentieth-century art.120 Out of the five depictions of the Virgin on the templon, four represent the classical Enthroned Mother of God and only one, in Aghios Georgios Katholikos, follows a different motif (Fig. 135). The condition of the fresco is characterised as poor as only the contours, the haloes and Christ’s vestments are visible. Unfortunately, the position of the Virgin’s arms which determine the type cannot be identified. Through the position of her body and that of Christ, it can be assumed that the type is either *Hodegetria* or *Glykofilousa*. Up to this point, the analysis of the iconographic programme of Aghios Georgios Katholikos shows that the

117 Paisidou, Καστοριά, pp. 186-193.
118 The Virgin *Hodegetria* holds the Christ Child pointing at him with her right arm, as a symbol of the road to salvation. The Virgin *Glykofilousa*, or Sweet Kiss, presents the loving bond between Mother and Son by exchanging kisses and caresses. The Virgin *Eleousa*, or the Virgin of Tenderness, expresses the intensity of their loving and affectionate relationship by showing Christ grabbing her *maphorion*. Winfield, Proportion, p. 9, Tradigo, Icons, pp. 177, 184.
119 Paisidou, Καστοριά, pp. 187-190.
120 An inscription at the bottom of the frescoes dates them in 1913.
surviving frescoes were executed much later than the construction of the church, probably during the second Venetian conquest. Therefore, it is more likely that the artist chose the popular image of *Glykofilousa*.\(^{121}\) However, it has already been observed, from the few examples that have been examined so far, that occasionally the artists preferred older themes. Thus, a solid hypothesis cannot be formed.

All the other frescoes follow the same frontal pattern, with the Virgin seated on a gold, wooden throne holding Christ on her lap. The inscription ΜΗΣΗΠ ΘΕΟΥ is inscribed inside two small medallions on the upper part of the fresco. In the left medallion there are the letters ΜΠ which stand for the word Mother and in the right medallion the letter ΟΥ which stands for the word God. In all the examples Christ is a three-quarters figure turned towards the direction of the holy altar. The frescoes from Aghia Kyriaki and Timios Stavros are created by using almost the same earthy palette (Figs. 136-137). The way the faces of the figures are drawn shows potential creation by the same artist. Therefore, since the church of Timios Stavros is a result of the seventeenth century, it is possible that the templon in Aghia Kyriaki was painted as well during the second Venetian dominion. The style of frescoes does not reveal Latin influences which are obvious in many churches on Cyprus, decorated under the Venetian supervision from 1473 to 1571.\(^ {122}\) The frescoes of Saint John Lambadistis (sixteenth century) and the Catholikon of Moni Neophytou (second half of the fifteenth century) have evident Italo-Byzantine elements, which are totally absent in the templon images of the Virgin in Paliochora.\(^ {123}\) However, that does not imply that they were created before or after the Latin occupation, as there are churches in Crete decorated during the Venetian occupation, without any influence from Latin iconography.\(^ {124}\)

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• Christ on the templon

Christ’s image on the templon has survived only five times, although the fresco in Aghios Georgios Katholikos is not in a good condition (Fig. 138) and the fresco from Aghia Makrina belongs to the category of later additions. The three remaining frescoes are found in Aghia Kyriaki, Aghioi Anargyroi and Timios Stavros (Figs. 139-140). The best preserved is the one from Aghia Kyriaki depicting Christ seated in a frontal position on a gold throne, equivalent to the one of the Virgin in style and posture (Fig. 141). The only example where he is presented standing is the one from Timios Stavros. In both cases there is the inscription ИΗΣΟΥΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ and Christ holds the Gospel. This time the letters are not inscribed in medallions but are simply written on the upper part of the dark, monochromatic background. The letters IC stand for the word Jesus and the letters XP are the equivalent for Christ in the ancient Greek abbreviations which are used in iconography.

• Aghios Ioannis Prodromos

Aghios Ioannis Prodromos, Saint John the Baptist, is the last figure associated with the iconography of the templon. His image is encountered five times in Paliochora in Aghios Georgios Katholikos, Aghia Kyriaki, Aghioi Anargyroi, Timios Stavros, and the Church of the Metamorphosis. He is traditionally placed in the last arch of the iconostasis towards the south wall.\(^{125}\) However, in the churches of Paliochora there are three examples which ignore the canon and prefer an alternative placement; Aghios Georgios Katholikos, Timios Stavros and the church of the Metamorphosis (Figs. 142-143). It is important to state that Timios Stavros and the Metamorphosis are dated to

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\(^{125}\) Cormack, Byzantine Art, p. 211.
the last construction period, along with the creation of the iconographic programme in Aghios Georgios Katholikos.

In Timios Stavros and Aghios Georgios Katholikos the templon follows the pattern of two Holy Doors. According to the spaces between the openings there was a free surface only for one fresco to the south side and two in the north. Probably the artist preferred to include all the figures that are usual in the templon, but chose to alternate their positions. In the current churches Saint John the Baptist was transferred to the north edge next to the Virgin. He is not frontally depicted as the Virgin and Christ are, but his body turns towards the altar to pay his respects. The fresco in the Church of the Metamorphosis is examined under the chapter ‘Iconography of the nave’ due to its placement on the south wall next to the main entrance.

The three remaining frescoes from Aghios Georgios Katholikos, Aghia Kyriaki and Aghioi Anargyroi present frontal standing figures. The best preserved fresco comes from Aghia Kyriaki, where he is presented with wings like an angel following the Gospel (Mark 1:2) where he is presented as the messenger. The same depiction is found in the Church of the Metamorphosis (Fig. 144). This type is known as Saint John the Baptist with wings and was introduced in Greece by the Cretan painter Angelos in the fifteenth century on Crete, but was mostly encountered as portable icons and not mural paintings. This type became extremely popular, and was widely disseminated in post-Byzantine Cretan icon painting from the second half of the fifteenth century to the end of the seventeenth century, but unlike other types which were connected to both the Orthodox and Catholic community, this type remained strictly associated to the Orthodox faith.\(^{126}\) However, Angelos’ model represents a three-quarters figure, while

the example in Paliochora is in full front position. The en face motif is usually found in fourteenth century Palaelogian examples in Northern Greece, Macedonia. The oldest example exists in Serbia in the Church of Aghios Achillios (1295). Tsitouridou has recorded the model in Aghios Nikolaos at Thessaloniki (thirteenth century) and Grozdanov in the chapel of Saint Sophia at Ohrid (thirteenth century). Unfortunately, in Aghios Georgios Katholikos only the halo and half of the face are visible (Fig. 145). In Aghioi Anargyroi due to the restricted width, Saint John the Baptist is depicted next to Christ, but because there is not enough space in the templon, the artist drew him on the vertical surface of the south arch, giving the impression that the templon continues as far as the external wall (Fig. 146). His depiction in all cases does not reveal any Italo-Byzantine elements such as in the Church of the Holy Cross of Agiasmati in Cyprus (1466), but follows the Byzantine prototype of a skinny figure with long, messy, brown hair seen in Aghios Nikolaos at Kakopetria on Cyprus (fifteenth century).

Conclusion

This chapter presented a primary, overall examination of sanctuary iconography in Paliochora divided into two categories: almost complete cycles in the churches of Aghios Dionysios and the Metamorphosis and surviving parts of the programmes in the churches of Taxiarchis Michael, Aghios Georgios Katholikos, Aghios Ioannis Theologos,

127 Tsitouridou, Ορφανός, pl. 16, C Grozdanov, La Peinture Mural d’Ohrid au XIVE Siècle, Ohrid, 1980, fig. 43.
128 Stylianou, I, pp. 38, 97, fig. 46.
Aghios Nikolaos the North, Aghios Efthymios, Aghioi Theodoroi, Aghia Kyriaki and Zoodochos Pege, Aghia Makrina, Aghioi Anargyroi, and Timios Stavros.

The two first cases present a different iconographic result. The sanctuary of the Cathedral, which was initially part of the nave, follows the basic Middle Byzantine prototype of a dome decoration with the image of Christ Pantokrator surrounded by the prophets and the evangelists. Scenes from the dodekaorton, frequently presented under the dome are absent, but they belong to the lost cluster of frescoes on the pendentives and squinches. They are found only in their proper position in the actual nave of the church. The image of the sanctuary of the Cathedral gives the impression of the nave in a small basilica, resembling twelfth and thirteenth-century nave examples, such as Panaghia of Arakos, at Lagoudera on Cyprus (1192) and Panaghia Olympiotissa at Elasson (c.1295). This mode in iconographic programmes fell into disuse from the fourteenth century onwards, but sporadically passed to examples of later periods, such as the Perivleptos church at Mistras (fifteenth century). The church of the Metamorphosis includes both Eucharistic types, such as the the Virgin Enthroned, the Hierarchs, the Mandylion, and the Hospitality of Abraham, and scenes from the dodekaorton and Christ’s Passion. In general, although the church belongs to the final construction phase in Paliochora, includes examples that return to the iconography of the the Late Byzantine period; a fact which will also be demonstrated by the analysis of scenes from Christ’s cycle.

The number of single frescoes encountered in the rest of the sanctuaries is restricted to five types; the Virgin of the apse, the Liturgy of the Fathers, the Melismos, the Aghion Mandylion and the Man of Sorrows. The exact same repertoire is observed in

130 Stylianou, Cyprus, pp. 70-91, Constantinidi, Elasson, pp. 80-110.
131 Constantinidi, Elasson, p. 95
the churches of the seventeenth-century Kastoria, with the addition of the Communion of the Apostles.\textsuperscript{132} The choices of the artists show a clear intention to decorate the sanctuaries with frescoes that promote the Eucharistic liturgy, underlining the sacred use of this space. Paisidou clearly pointed out tendencies in iconography of the Post Byzantine period to be strictly related to the use of the church and its separate parts.\textsuperscript{133} In addition, this observation was made by Lymberopoulou concerning fourteenth-century wall painting on Crete.\textsuperscript{134} All types apart from the Virgin Orans which is used since the Early Christian period are additions of the twelfth century onwards which became standardized during the fourteenth century under the frame of expanding the existing iconographic cycles.\textsuperscript{135} The significance of choice is clear. What was not clear through the analysis of the iconographic programmes was the connection between the construction of the church and the iconographic programme and incorporated style.

All above churches are dated to the fourteenth century onwards, with the exception of Taxiarchis Michael from the thirteenth century. However, the style of frescoes points out to a later decoration during the fifteenth century. The depiction of the Church Fathers is not restricted only to three-quarters figures, but returns to the representation of frontal figures with closed codex seen in the examples of the eleventh century.\textsuperscript{136} In Aghios Ioannis Theologos (fourteenth century) the type of Melismos follows the old model, while in the Taxiarchis Michael (thirteenth century) the artists chose to depict a fifteenth century model.\textsuperscript{137} The Mandylion is painted as a suspended cloth following the second phase of its evolution, but the seventeenth-century church of the Metamorphosis creates the exception and returns to the old

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\textsuperscript{132} Paisidou, \textit{Kastoria}, pp. 59-75.
\textsuperscript{133} Ibid., p. 266.
\textsuperscript{134} Lymberopoulou, \textit{Kavalariana}, pp. 218-219.
\textsuperscript{135} Acheimastou, \textit{Toxourgopoleis}, p. 25.
\textsuperscript{136} Malmquist, \textit{Castoria}, p. 37.
\textsuperscript{137} See p. 163-164.
model of the eleventh century. The Man of Sorrows provides examples imitating the first depiction with Christ alone, but also three-figural motifs with the addition of the Virgin and John. Finally, the model of John the Baptist with wings in the examples from Aghia Kyriaki and the Church of the Metamorphosis returns to the frontal depiction originating from Northern Greece and Serbia since the end of the thirteenth century.

The iconography of the templon is usually determined and certain positions are associated with certain subject matters. However, the alteration in the formation of the templon with one or two Holy Doors, asymmetrically placed in relation to the narrow width of the churches, leads to disorder and placements which annul the primary hierarchy.

Analysis of each individual type brought to the surface common points with iconographic programmes from various churches in Kastoria, Mistras, Crete, and Cyprus. However, the so-called Italo-Byzantine style, identified in churches on Crete and Cyprus where the Venetians dominated, is not observed in the sanctuaries of Paliochora. The similarities include examples from Late or Post Byzantine iconographic models that cannot be strictly related to the iconographic programme of one church. It was presented that in Paliochora the iconographic programme of a single sanctuary may contain examples which follow both Late Byzantine tradition and its evolution observed during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As mentioned in the introductory analysis examples from this period are characterised by diversity and comprise a variety of artistic influences. The artists in Paliochora felt free to disrupt

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138 Spatharakis, Wall Paintings, p. 12.
139 See pp. 171-173.
140 Acheimastou-Potamianou, From El Greco, fig. 67, Paisidou, Καστορία, p. 200.
141 Cormack, Byzantine Art, p. 211.
positions or patterns, and created an amalgam of tradition according to their personal preferences.
CHAPTER IV: Iconography of the Nave

Organisation and themes

The great wealth of surviving Late and Post Byzantine frescoes in Paliochora is discovered on the walls of the naves. The isolated frescoes are divided into two categories; scenes from Christ’s life and figural representations. The spatial arrangement of the interiors, consisting of vaulted, longitudinal rooms in the majority, prevented the painters to locate images in accordance with the hierarchical criteria ruling the domed buildings of the Middle and Late Byzantine period; thus, the combination of festival icons and narrative cycles is virtually a standard feature of Late and Post Byzantine church decoration.¹ What is worth noticing in the first category of iconographic subjects is that only scenes from the dodekaorton, the Passion of Christ, and post-Anastasis events are included. With the exception of Aghios Dionysios which includes miracle scenes, there are no examples of frescoes depicting parables or miracles in any church. The tradition of depicting such scenes appears in the twelfth century, mostly in the churches of Cappadocia and Sicily, but also as miniatures of manuscripts.² During the Late Byzantine period there are examples in the Greek peninsula, such as in Aghios Demetrios in Mistras in its first phase of construction (1272-88).³ According to Paisidou’s research this secondary cycle does not appear in any Greek monument during the fifteenth century, but is widely spread in Serbian churches.⁴ It re-appears in the sixteenth century, mostly in monasteries and during

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³ M Chatzidakis, Μιντράδη. Η Μεσαιωνική Πολιτεία και το Κάστρο, Athens, 1987, pp. 35-38, 40.
the seventeenth century becomes a standard feature, following the tendency of depicting larger number of cycles and scenes. In the case of Paliochora, when the majority of surviving frescoes originate from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, one could attribute their absence to their extensive destruction. However, this total absence creates questions about the type of iconographic programmes that were preferred by the artists of the peninsula and whether this absence was deliberate.

Apart from the isolated frescoes, there are two churches which have their entire iconographic programme almost intact; the twin basilica of Aghia Kyriaki, and the Cathedral. The first case especially provides two separate cycles in the two naves, focused on different themes. In the north nave of Aghia Kyriaki the frescoes compile a visual image of the Akathist Hymn and in the south nave of Zoodochos Pege an extensive circle of martyrdoms. The Akathist Hymn is a hymn to the Theotokos (626), sang to avert the capture of Constantinople by the Avars, which includes twenty-four stanzas, one for every letter of the Greek alphabet. It was introduced to church decoration before the twelfth century, but was established during the fourteenth as twenty-four separate scenes. Maguire aptly stated that the Akathist Hymn is one of the Late Byzantine examples of most effective symbiosis between words and image.

The cycles of martyrdoms appeared in the thirteenth century, but developed extensively during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with the iconography of

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5 Paisidou, Κοστοπούλου, p. 113.
menologues. On the other hand, the case of the Cathedral is a complicated example of Post Byzantine iconography due to continuous architectural additions to the primary nucleus, a fact which created confusion in the placement of frescoes, as already observed in the analysis of the iconography of its sanctuary.

The analysis of the complete iconographic cycles is conducted separately from the fragmentary pieces. The remaining frescoes are investigated again thematically according to the methodology which was employed in the previous chapter. At first, scenes from Christ’s life are presented (the dodekaorton, Passion scenes, and Post- Anastasis events), followed by the archangels, the prophets, and the army of saints.

**Complete iconographic programmes**

The iconographic programmes of these three naves include scenes which appear once in Paliochora, thus they are examined in terms of accurate representation of their type according to their dating. The scenes which appear more than once are evaluated under separate thematic groups, in comparison with other similar frescoes in Paliochora, in order to identify styles, evidence of evolution, and influences from the West, if any.

Aghios Dionysios, the Cathedral of the peninsula, is a particular architectural case completed in 1610; a fact which largely affected the iconographic programme. It is one of the few cases where there is an inscription on the west wall stating clearly the date, the patron, and painter.  

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9 For details see, pp. 149-150.

10 See p. 126.
The research on the Cathedral conducted by Pennas is limited to the area of the nave.\(^{11}\) The iconographic programme in the nave is divided into two types, placed in different parts of the church. The majority of scenes expand in the vault, while the isolated figures of prophets and saints exist on the west and east walls, and the triangular spandrels of the arches. Peter and Paul holding a model of the Church occupy the west wall (Fig. 147), while the Last Judgement the south wall (Figs. 148-149).\(^{12}\) There are twenty-three scenes on the vault of which fifteen are identified. The scenes are not presented in a chronological order, which makes it difficult for the faithful to comprehend the sequence. The series of scenes include: Christ judged by Annas and Caiaphas, Pilate’s Judgement, the Repentance and Hanging of Judas, the Washing of the Feet, the Last Supper, Christ being raised on the Cross, Touch me not (Noli me Tangere), and the Incredulity of Thomas. (Fig. 150-151-152-153-154-155-156-157).\(^{13}\)

Christ Judged by Annas and Caiaphas and Pilate’s Judgement are presented next to each other omitting the Mocking and the Denial of Peter, which complete the chronological order according to the Gospel of Matthew (Matthew 16, 57-75; 27, 1-26). The same pattern is found in Panaghia of Apostolakis at Kastoria (1605).\(^{14}\) However, at Kastoria the two scenes are presented in one panel while in Paliochora they are separated by the traditional red frame.\(^{15}\) A figure that that changed through the centuries is Caiaphas and the tearing of his vestments. In older representations, Christ is discussing with the two men.\(^{16}\) In Aghios Dionysios, Caiaphas holds his mantle with both hands, ready to tear it apart. In the second fresco, Pilate washes his hands,

\(^{11}\) C Pennas, Η Βυζαντινή Αίγινα, Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού, Ταμείο Αρχαιολογικών Πόρων και Απαλλοτριώσεων, Athens, 2004, pp. 54-61.

\(^{12}\) The Last Judgement is analysed in the sub-chapter of post-Anastasis events and Peter and Paul holding the model of the church under the title ‘The Apostles’.

\(^{13}\) The Washing of the Feet, the Last Supper, the Noli me Tangere, and the Incredulity of Thomas are examined further on, in comparison to other examples from Paliochora.

\(^{14}\) Paisidou, Καστορία, pp. 80-81, pl. 46.

\(^{15}\) Ibid., pl. 47b, 49b.

\(^{16}\) S Pelekanidis, Καλλιέργης, Όλης Θεταλίας Ζωγράφος, Athens, 1973, pl. Η.
while looking away towards his wife’s messenger, who appears under the arch of the main entrance. The left part of the fresco is destroyed.

In the theme of the Healing of the Paralytic, which disrupts the order there is not much of a crowd gathered outside the house, and because the left part is destroyed, there is no image of the paralytic taking his bed on his shoulders and walking away (Fig. 158). The Road to Calvary, inscribed as the Elkonoms (Fig. 159), depicts the moment described in the synoptic Gospels and the Gospel of Nicodemus, seen since the early Christia period according to which Simon of Cyrene carried the Cross (Matthew 27, 32; Mark 15, 21; Luke 23, 26; Gospel of Nicodemus 10, 1). In later centuries the presence of crowd is also frequent. In Aghios Dionysios two soldiers are present in the foreground; the one who follows on horseback and the one who drags Christ. Unfortunately, the condition of the second soldier does not allows us to identify if he holds a sword such as in Aghios Georgios Magaliou at Kastoria (c. 1654) or a vessel with the Crucifixion tools such as at the Archangel Michael at Kavalariana on Crete (1327/28). On the background above the city walls there is a group of five people watching the scene. The middle one can be identified as the Virgin Mary. The second group on the upper right part is a group of soldiers half destroyed. The arrangement of the figures and the formation of the background is almost identical to the fresco in Panaghia of Aghioi Anargyroi at Kastoria (1634). Finally, Lymberopoulou in her monograph comments on the nimbus of Simon, seen also in Aghios Dionysios, as a feature found in Cappadocian examples and not very often in the examples of the rest of the Byzantine world. The Repentance and Hanging of Judas, following the Betrayal which was identified by Prokopiou, annuls the chronological boundaries and presents

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17 Paisidou, Κατατόπιδα, pl. 47b, 49b.
20 Paisidou, Κατατόπιδα, pl. 49b.
21 Lymberopoulou, Kavalariana, pp. 77-78.
the two instants in one frame. On the foreground and left Judas returns his payment while on the background he is depicted hanged from a tree. The characteristic element of this fresco, seen since its appearance in the Late Byzantine period, is that the tree bends so much, that his feet touch the ground.\textsuperscript{22} It survived until the eighteenth century, when it was catalogued in the \textit{Hermeneia}.\textsuperscript{23}

The remaining frescoes depict prophets and saints which are examined in their specific groups later in this chapter. In general terms the iconographic programme of Aghios Dionysios is one of the most disordered, despite the fact that it was the principal church of the city. The organisation of the frescoes does not follow a strict hierarchy, creating a completely false impression of an iconographic programme. However, this result is not completely based on the painter’s choices, but is linked to the turbulent architectural history of the church.

The iconographic programme in Aghia Kyriaki is also dated. The remains of an inscription on the east pier date the frescoes to the seventeenth century.\textsuperscript{24} The main subject developed on the south and north wall of the nave is the Akathist Hymn. During the Palaeologian period the cult of the Virgin underwent considerable development in iconography with the introduction of a large number of scenes. The Akathist Hymn was introduced in internal decoration earlier than the twelfth century, but was established in the fourteenth.\textsuperscript{25} Spatharakis in his monograph offers a complete analysis of the major iconographic cycles of the Akathist Hymn in Thessaly, Crete, Thessaloniki, and the Balkans.\textsuperscript{26} Extensive cycles in Greece are found in Saint Stephen in Meteora (1192), in the Monastery Peribleptos in Mistras (1350), the Church

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{22} Paisidou, \textit{Καστορίδα}, p. 82.
\item \textsuperscript{24} ‘Αναμνήσεις του Αφαίνομενου Ναού. ΧΙΙ. Πληθυντικά Εθνικά Εργαστήρια Παραγωγής Εργαλείων, Athens, 2001, p. 142.’
\item \textsuperscript{25} Vassilaki, \textit{Representations}, pp. 130-135.
\item \textsuperscript{26} I Spatharakis, \textit{The Pictorial Cycles of the Akathistos Hymn for the Virgin}, Alexandros Press, Leiden, 2005.
\end{itemize}
of Olympiotissa at Elsson (1304-5), Aghios Nikolaos Orphanos at Thessaloniki (fourteenth century), Aghios Ioannis Lambadistis at Kalopanayiotis on Cyprus, and Panaghia of Apostolakis at Kastoria (1605).\textsuperscript{27} The frescoes are characterised as \textit{oikoi}, which means houses, and consist of twelve long and twelve short scenes, divided according to their content; historical or theological.\textsuperscript{28} The Akathist Hymn is connected to the iconography of the Orthodox, offering strong evidence on the argument of use of the two naves and the function of the twin basilica.

The monastery of Aghia Kyriaki presents a complete cycle of the twenty-four \textit{oikoi}. The frescoes depict: 1) an angel sent from heaven, 2) the holy one seeing herself in chastity, 3) the Virgin seeking to know unknowable knowledge, 4) the power from on high, 5) the Virgin of the God-bearing womb or the Visitation (Fig. 160), 6) Joseph troubled by doubts (Fig. 161), 7) the shepherds hear the hymns of the Archangels (Fig. 162), 8) the Magi moving towards God (Fig. 163), 9) the children of the Chaldaeans (Fig. 164), 10) the Magi being heralds of God, 11) the Flight into Egypt (Fig. 165), 12) Simeon waiting or the Presentation in the Temple (Fig. 166), 13) the Creator showing a new creation (Fig. 167), 14) Seeing this strange child (Fig. 168), 15) the Word fully present in things below (Fig. 169), 16) all the host of angels (Fig. 170), 17) the most eloquent orators (Fig. 171), 18) having wished to save the world, 19) thou art a sheltering wall for virgins (Fig. 172), 20) every hymn (Fig. 173), 21) we see the holy Virgin as a light-giving-lamp, 22) Having wished to give thanks (Fig. 174), 23) singing praise to thy child (Fig. 175), and 24) o, Mother, who must be honoured with all praise (Fig. 176).\textsuperscript{29}

\textsuperscript{27} Bibliography provided on footnote no 6 and Paisidou, \textit{Καστοριά}, pp. 129-141.
\textsuperscript{28} Constantinidi, \textit{Elsson}, p. 135.
\textsuperscript{29} Dionysios of Fourna, \textit{Painter’s Manual}, pp. 51-52.
A thorough analysis of the Akathist Hymn in Aghia Kyriaki and its comparison to the existing examples in Greece, Cyprus, and the Balkan peninsula can be a matter of a separate research. The analysis of each oikos in matters of organisation and style, the documentation of its evolution and the identification of possible innovations cannot be performed in the restricted word limit of this thesis. However, what can be studied is the placement of frescoes on the walls of the nave.\(^{30}\) Bournias in his article for the local magazine underlined that the frescoes are not placed in a strict alphabetical order without giving any precise details.\(^{31}\) The examination of the cycle, proved his observation, as fresco number eighteen is not painted in line, but alone above Aghia Marina in the arch of the north wall, number nineteen in the triangular surface under the last two frescoes, and number sixteen between frescoes six and seven.

All scenes, apart from the Annunciation, the Visitation, the Nativity, and the Presentation in the Temple, appear only once in Paliochora as part of the Akathist Hymn. This can be explained because both themes had their place in evangelical cycles since early iconography and were not introduced as part of this particular hymn.\(^{32}\) The Visitation scene is encountered again in a seventeenth century church, Aghios Stephanos. It is a scene which touches on familial bonds and presents the private joys of motherhood.\(^{33}\) According to Luke I:43, Elizabeth refers to the Virgin as Mother of God for the first time.\(^{34}\) In both cases the fresco follows an austere model, which is more frequent, and omits the figures of a child, Joseph, and Zacharias.\(^{35}\) The fresco is similar in style to the two frescoes at Kastoria from Panagia of Apostolakis (1605) and

\(^{30}\) A description of each scene is also provided in the appendix.


\(^{34}\) ‘Whence is this to me that the mother of my Lord should come to me?’

\(^{35}\) Paisidou, Καστοριά, p. 132.
Panaghia of Mouzevikis (1654), with the Virgin placed on the left side rather than the right, seen also in the few Cretan examples traced to the fourteenth century.\(^{36}\) The only difference is that in the first example the figures bend forwards, drawing their bodies apart.\(^{37}\) In Aghios Stephanos the figure cannot be identified as neither the colours survive nor the inscriptions (Fig. 177). The Annunciation, the Nativity, and the Presentation in the Temple are included in the analysis of the *dodekaorton*. The iconographic programme of the nave is completed with numerous saintly figures, the representation of the Last Judgement, the Scales of Justice and the personification of the Sea on the west wall. All the above have been included in their separate thematic groups.

The twin nave of Aghia Kyriaki, Zoodochos Pege, was added later to the primary nucleus.\(^{38}\) Its iconographic programme consists of a series of martyrdoms expanded on the north and south walls. There were fourteen scenes counted by Prokopiou, but only nine can be recognised today.\(^{39}\) The rest were destroyed by humidity or were white-washed. The series of martyrdoms, *Martyrologia*, appeared during the thirteenth century; a period which coincides with the development in the depiction of sorrow, but the oldest example survives in the Vatican, in a *menologion* from the eleventh century.\(^{40}\) Paisidou refers to their remarkable development during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries especially in provincial Mediterranean cities, as source of strength and consolation to the oppressed Greeks.\(^{41}\) The introduction of series of martyrdoms appeared first in regions occupied by the Latin forces, following the

\(^{37}\) ibid., pl. 64b.
\(^{38}\) For more details, see pp. 113-114.
\(^{39}\) A Prokopiou, *Εστίες Ελληνικοῦ Πολιτισμοῦ στους Βυζαντινούς και Μεταβυζαντινούς Χρόνους*, Πύρινος Κόσμος, Athens, 1998, pp. 198-199. The archive of his unpublished photographs was given to me by his son Georgios Prokopiou.
\(^{41}\) Paisidou, *Καστοριά*, p. 141.
formation of Latin Christendom in 1204, and numerous examples are encountered in other cities such as Mistras, Kastoria, and Cyprus.\(^{42}\)

The choice of martyrs is a semantic differential between the East and the West which aids the examination on the use of the north nave. Western Cathedrals or parish churches included a larger variety of saintly figures due to the dramatic rise of pilgrimage around Europe during the medieval period.\(^{43}\) The Orthodox showed preference in certain images which were closely linked to their tradition such as Aghios Georgios, Aghios Demetrios, John the Baptist, and Aghios Stephanos, without excluding regional saints popular in various cities.\(^{44}\)

The scenes in Zoodochos Pege are expanded on the walls of the nave following a circular placement from the south in a clockwise manner, above a zone with frontal, saintly, figurative depictions. The analysis follows their development on the walls of the nave. The Martyrdom of Aghies Pisti, Elpida and Agapi and their mother Sophia, the martyrs of Rome, inaugurates the cycle (Fig. 178).\(^{45}\) They are mentioned in Apostle Paul’s first Epistolae to the Corinthians (1 Corinthians 13:13). As Stylianou comments these Christian Graces were personified in early Christian times and suffered martyrdom under Hadrian for the ideals they represented, under the guidance of their mother Sophia and became Catholic martyrs. Often they are depicted as standing figures, such as in Aghios Mamas at Louvaras on Cyprus (1465), functioning as a prayer from the donor in difficult times.\(^{46}\) The depiction according to the \textit{Hermeneia} shows two saints already decapitated and two kneeling with leaning heads,


\(^{44}\) Paisidou, \textit{Καστορίδα}, pp. 141-142.

\(^{45}\) The translation of their names is Faith, Love, and Charity.

waiting for the sword, whereas in this fresco only one saint is kneeling in the orans position and the fourth is desperately reaching out to the soldier.\textsuperscript{47} This depiction is seen in Balkan churches, in the Monastery of Dečani (1327-35), where the three heads are placed inside a sarcophagus.\textsuperscript{48} The inscription in Zoodochos Pege, refers to the entire fresco and does not identify figures. However, judging by the previous, the orans figure is most probably Aghia Sophia.

The next fresco depicts the Martyrdom of Aghia Melane the Roman (Fig. 179). Nelson refers to her as ‘Lady of the Mongols’.\textsuperscript{49} Nevertheless, she is also associated with the Orthodox ecclesiastical history and the Empress Evdoxia who was miraculously cured by her in front of Saint Stephen’s relic.\textsuperscript{50} The martyr is drawn in profile, kneeling in front of a soldier who tries to rip her tongue out with pliers. A theory based on Luke 11: 34, supports that the eyes are the window of the soul and should always be in contact with the faithful.\textsuperscript{51} Often it was used to represent figures that represented evil.\textsuperscript{52} However, it has been strongly argued by academics, based on the fact that there are several examples in Byzantine art drawn in profile. Underwood in his study on the Chora Monastery identified that the figures of the three Magi were drawn in profile.\textsuperscript{53} Relevant examples are observed across the centuries such as the Adoration of the Magi, mosaic from Saint Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna (c. 560) and Theophanis’ Last Supper in Moni Stavronikita (1545).\textsuperscript{54} Therefore, existence of a profile figure

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{47} Dionysios of Fourn, Painter’s Manual, p. 71.
\textsuperscript{50} Walter, Warrior, p. 228.
\end{flushright}
cannot be regarded as evidence of western intervention, as there is precedent in Byzantine iconography.

The Beheading of John the Baptist is one of the most popular themes of martyrdom. The earliest example survives in the sixth century Sinope Gospel, depicting Salome holding his head on a tray.\textsuperscript{55} The synoptic Gospels place the martyrdom in the countryside (Matthew 14, 10; Mark 16, 28), However in Paliochora the scene is placed inside a jail. The motif existed in the West from the Ottonian period (c.950-1024) and in the East became established before the fifteenth century mainly from Cretan examples\textsuperscript{56} and became popular in various Greek regions; Monastery of Lavra on Mount Athos and Moni Varlaam at Meteora (sixteenth century), Aghios Nikolaos Theologinas at Kastoria (1663), before the introduction of the new type by Michael Damaskinos in the sixteenth century.\textsuperscript{57} John the Baptist, a very skinny figure, is kneeling waiting patiently for his death, wearing handcuffs (Fig. 180). Salome stands on the right side holding the plate on which she will place his head. The soldier on the left is preparing for the beheading, but the figure is not active and gives a static impression. It is true that the Martyrdom of John the Baptist is not presented as a barbaric moment. There is no indication of corporal mortification because the scene depicts the instance before the decapitation and not the actual event. In Zoodochos Pege the fresco has triple size than the rest frescoes of the cycle, indicating its importance to the artist or the patron.

The following martyrdom is recognized by the format of the fresco since no inscription survives; Aghios Ignatios’ martyrdom, the Bishop of Antioch who died around AD 67

\textsuperscript{56} Chatzidakis, \textit{Θεοφάνης}, pp. 74-75. The homonymous church at Deliana on Crete (c. 1300) already includes this scene. The material is unpublished and provided to me by Dr Angeliki Lymberopoulou. See fig. 269.
(Fig. 181).\textsuperscript{58} Once more, the saint depicted martyred in Rome and his relic was kept in Saint Clement in Rome since 673. The element that differentiates it from Daniel’s martyrdom is the number of lions, which in the second case are four, and the age of the martyr.\textsuperscript{59} The fresco depicts a saint kneeling in front of two lions. According to the \textit{Hermeneia} Aghios Ignatios ‘was eaten by lions; an old man with long beard’.\textsuperscript{60} By reading the first four frescoes of the cycle, it is underlined that the chosen martyrs are accepted by both rites, establishing the argument that the church was shared by the two co-existing rites.

Equally valuable both for the Catholic and the Orthodox rite were the Martyrdoms of the military saints Demetrios and Georgios. Aghios Georgios has an extensive cycle of fourteen episodes in his martyrdom.\textsuperscript{61} Extensive cycles are found in Cappadocia, in Karagedik Kilisesi (eleventh century), the Dečani Monastery (1327), and on Crete, especially in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.\textsuperscript{62} Aghios Georgios’ martyrdom on the wheel often includes a horse escort in the background.\textsuperscript{63} In Zoodochos Pege we find one of the common depictions with the large wheel of torture placed on a pedestal (Fig. 182), also found in the church of Aghios Nikolaos Theologinas in Kastoria (1663).\textsuperscript{64} Aghios Georgios is tied to the wheel and two soldiers hold the ropes of the wheel. In the fresco of Kastoria there are also three figures on horseback two soldiers and an Emperor, Diocletian or Dadian, but the Paliochora example follows the austere

\textsuperscript{58} Aghios Ignatios was arrested by the authorities and transported to Rome under trying conditions and he was sentenced to die in the Colosseum. The Roman authorities hoped to make an example of him and thus discourage Christianity from spreading, but his journey to Rome instead offered him the opportunity to meet with and teach Christians along his route, and he wrote six letters to the churches in the region and one to a fellow bishop. For that reason he was closely linked to the western tradition, especially the Italian, but he is celebrated both by the Catholic and Orthodox dogma on different dates.

\textsuperscript{59} Paisidou, \textit{Καστοριά}, pl. 69b.

\textsuperscript{60} Dionysios of Fourna, \textit{Painter’s Manual}, p. 75.

\textsuperscript{61} Paisidou, \textit{Καστοριά}, p. 144.


\textsuperscript{63} Paisidou, \textit{Καστοριά}, p. 144.

\textsuperscript{64} ibid.
model without the escort.\textsuperscript{65} In both examples the background follows an architectural arrangement, which is frequent mainly in Balkan examples, such as Nagoričane (thirteenth century), Dečani (1327), and Sucevita (1585).\textsuperscript{66}

Aghios Demetrios’ martyrdom is recognized by its composition which was standardized during the Palaeologian period and was popular in churches of Northern Greece and the Balkans, as the patron of Thessaloniki (Fig. 183).\textsuperscript{67} According to Xyngopoulos the first depiction of his martyrdom was created in the seventh century in Aghios Demetrios of Thessaloniki.\textsuperscript{68} The saint is seated on a semi-circular throne on the right, with his arm raised, provoking the soldiers to pierce him at the same spot as Christ. Until the seventeenth century the martyrdom included two more figures, an angel descending from heaven to crown the martyr and his mourning servant Lupus, behind the throne.\textsuperscript{69} Gradually, these figures disappeared to leave space for the principal figures.\textsuperscript{70} However, there are later examples, such the fresco in Aghios Nikolaos Theologinas in Kastoria (1663) which includes both the angel and Lupus.\textsuperscript{71} The martyrdom in Zoodechos Pege includes only a cluster of three soldiers and the saint, seen also in Aghios Demetrios at Mistras (1291/92-1315).\textsuperscript{72} The number of soldiers also was a variant, depending basically on the available space. In early examples the number was raised to five or six, seen in the Monastery of Great Lavra (fourteenth century icon), in contrast to later ones that was usually three.\textsuperscript{73}

\textsuperscript{65} There is a difference of opinions between the scholars on the identity of the Emperor. H Deleyahe, Les Légendes Grecques de Saints Militaires, Paris, 1909, p. 45-76.

\textsuperscript{66} G Millet & A Frolov, La Peinture du Moyen Age en Yougoslavie II (Serbie, Macédoine, Montenegro), Paris, 1957, pl. 103.3, V Petković, La Peinture Serbe du Moyen Age, Belgrade, 1934, pl. 114a.

\textsuperscript{67} A Xyngopoulos, Σχεδιασμός της ιστορίας της θρησκευτικής ζωγραφικής μετά την Άλωση, Athens, 1957, p. 186.

\textsuperscript{68} A Xyngopoulos, Βυζαντινόν Κήρυκα συν μετά Παραστάσεων εκ του Βίου του Αγίου Δημητρίου, AE, Athens, 1936, p. 135.


\textsuperscript{70} A Xyngopoulos, Ο Εικονογραφικός Κύκλος της Ζωής του Αγίου Δημητρίου, Thessaloniki, 1977, pp. 11-13.

\textsuperscript{71} Paisidou, pl. 59.

\textsuperscript{72} M Acheimastou-Potamianou, Βυζαντινές Τοιχογραφίες, Εκδοτική Αθηνών, Athens, 1994, fig. 93.

\textsuperscript{73} M Chatzidakis, L’Icone Byzantine, Saggi e Memorie dell’Istituto di Storia dell’Arte della Fondazione G. Cini II, Venice, 1959, p. 38, fig. 25.
The Protomartyr Stephen follows in the cycle of Martyrdoms (Fig. 184). On the surviving part of the fresco in Zoodochos Pege we observe three figures; the Protomartyr is in the lower right corner, judging from the posture of the middle figure which is ready to throw a stone at him, and a third figure which observes the scene, the Apostle Paul. The artist chose a very simple depiction of the martyrdom with restricted number of figures. In three examples at Kastoria, Eisodia of Tsiapatas (1613), Aghios Nikolaos Theologinas (1663), there are three to four figures throwing stones at the saint, while in Paliochora only one.\(^74\) In all cases the martyrdom takes place in the countryside.

Prokopiou in his notes had identified two more martyrdoms which are completely destroyed now (Fig. 185-186). The scenes depicted the martyrdoms of Aghios Mavrikios and two other unidentifiable saints, and the martyrdom of five saints, Efstratios, Auxentios, Mardarios, Eugenios, and Orestes, known as the five martyrs of Sebaste.\(^75\) Their depiction usually shows Aghios Orestes above fire, Aghios Mardarios hanged upside down, Aghios Auxentios’ decapitation, and the beating of Aghios Eugenios. Saint Efstratios witnesses the death of his followers.\(^76\)

The west wall includes important scenes such as the Apostles Peter and Paul holding the Church and the image of Anapeson (The Reclining Infant).\(^77\) The representation of the Reclining Infant is a theme with a high symbolic content and various theological interpretations (Fig. 187), inspired by Biblical texts and depicts Christ’s incarnation and sacrifice (Genesis 49, 9-11). Apart from the nave of Zoodochos Pege it also appears in the sanctuary of the Cathedral, but unfortunately in both cases the frescoes are

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\(^74\) Paisidou, Καστορίδα, p. 147.
\(^76\) Paisidou, Καστορίδα, pp. 142-143.
\(^77\) The fresco with the Apostles Peter and Paul will be examined under the sub-chapter 'The Apostles'.
severely damaged. In Zoodochos Pege the Infant rests his head on his palm and is diagonally placed towards the visitor. The only observation judging by the width of frame is that the artist chose the condensed version without the Virgin or angels which was frequent from the thirteenth century onwards.\textsuperscript{78}

Last but not least, the top of the vault, before the first beam, there is a circular frame indicating the presence of a Pantokrator image (Fig. 188). Fragments around the circle indicate that the iconography of the vault was related to the Middle Byzantine iconographic decoration of the dome, as Prokopiou during the 1960s identified prophets and John the Baptist in his notes. Unfortunately, the contemporary state of frescoes does not allow further analysis.

To conclude, the iconographic programme of Zoodochos Pege created a mixture between old traditions, adapted to the new architectural reality, and a cycle of iconography, the martyrdoms, introduced during the end of the Late Byzantine period with the Latin conquests.\textsuperscript{79} Earlier, architectural evidence documented that the twin basilicas of the castle and Aghia Kyriaki and Zoodochos Pege, served both rites present on the island. Neither of the naves of the monastery presents a complete western iconographic pattern, which would provide cogent evidence that the Venetians had appropriated the north nave. However, the development of a martyrdom cycle with saints that are commemorated in both calendars, in association with the fresco that depicts the Apostles Peter and Paul, a theme chosen to support good relations between the two rites, and all the architectural evidence provided earlier, support the hypothesis that the north nave was more likely to be used by the Latins.\textsuperscript{80} However,}

\textsuperscript{79} Paisidou, Κατάσταση, p. 141.
\textsuperscript{80} D Pallas, Die Passion und die Bestattung Christi in Byzanz: Der Ritus-Das Bild, Institut für Byzantinistik und neugriechische Philologie der Universität, Munich, 1965, p. 280.
even if the nave was used by the Latins, it is not definite that the frescoes were painted by the Venetians. Thus, the next step to follow this primary documentation of frescoes is the comparison with Italian examples in order to identify Venetian stylistic influences or to conclude that the church was decorated for the Venetians by local artists who followed the tradition of Byzantine iconography. In the present state, the volume of frescoes and the confines of this thesis do not allow an extensive presentation of Italian iconography, thus this subject remains a matter for future examination.

**Scenes from the dodekaorton, the Passion, and post-Anastasis events**

Only eight churches on the hill of Paliochora host scenes from the *dodekaorton*, the Holy Passion, and post-Resurrection events. Due to the destruction of the frescoes, the scenes stand alone, as pieces of a puzzle, unable to present the complete story of the New Testament. From the twelve important feasts, only eight survive in at least one fresco in Paliochora. The ones which are excluded, most probably because of destruction, are the Baptism, the Anastasis, the Ascension, and the Dormition of the Virgin. The scenes which involve moments before Christ’s Passion include the depiction of the Washing of the Feet and the Last Supper. Finally, the post-Anastasis events involve the Noli me Tangere, the Incredulity of Thomas and the Last Judgement.

The presentation of those frescoes follows the chronological order according to the New Testament. Unfortunately, due to the absence of full cycles, the frescoes can be evaluated only as single cases or as parts of their thematic groups. Nevertheless, the relationship between frescoes of the same iconographic programme is taken into consideration, in order to help in the identification of possible positions for the missing
themes and to identify if they were created by the same artistic hand or if several artists were involved in the procedure.

- **The Annunciation**

The first feast in the *dodekaorton* is the Annunciation (Luke 1: 26-38). This type is known even before the establishment of the *dodekaorton* in the Middle Byzantine period, by a relevant example in Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome dated to the fifth century. The scene appears three times in Paliochora. Each one of the three examples represents a different type in its evolution. In the Koimesis of the Theotokos, the earliest example, the Virgin and the Archangel Gabriel are pictured inside the same panel, in Aghia Kyriaki the Annunciation evolves in three frescoes under the framework of the Akathist Hymn, and in the church of the Metamorphosis the two figures are separated by the Virgin Enthroned in the conch of the apse, seen earlier in the 'Iconography of the Sanctuary'.

The type of the Annunciation changed frequently in terms of form and structure. Originally, the Archangel was placed on the right side, but then the pattern was reversed. In all three cases the two figures are placed according to the second phase. During the eleventh century the Virgin holds a spindle with a scarlet thread in her hands and after the twelfth century the angel assumes a running gait. Another element is Mary’s posture; she inclines her head with her body turned towards the Archangel who comes with a gesture of salutation or turns away.

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81 It is also mentioned in the Protoevangelion of James and in the Pseudo-Matthew Gospel. C Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha*, Avenarius & Mendelsohn, Lipsiae, 1853, pp. 120-121.
84 Mouriki, *Nea Moni*, p. 120, Hadermann-Misguich, p. 100.
85 Malmquist, p. 42.
A characteristic placement of the fresco on the east wall of the sanctuary, typical of the twelfth century (Saint George, Kurbinovo, 1192), is observed in the seventeenth century church of the Metamorphosis (Fig. 108). Mary and the Archangel are depicted on the conch of the apse, separated by the Mother of God flanked by both the Archangels. The current state of the fresco does not allow profound examination of features, but explicitly presents the attitude of the two figures. Gabriel is drawn almost flying, with his right arm raised in salutation. Mary is a standing figure which is more common in earlier depictions, as from the twelfth century a seated figure dominates iconography. However, Lymberopoulou observes that both types are encountered in the fourteenth century. Therefore, the choice in the Church of the Metamorphosis was probably dictated by the available surface.

The next fresco is dated to the fourteenth century and is in a poor condition. The Archangel and the Virgin in the Koimesis of the Theotokos share the same surface as a unified panel, divided from the neighbouring frescoes by red vertical lines (Fig. 189). The posture of the figures is similar to the one from the previous example. The Virgin looks at the direction of the Archangel while extending her right arm in a movement of acceptance and holds a spindle. However, the Archangel’s movement is more rushed, seen in the example in Saint George at Kurbinovo (1192) and the Archangel Michael at Kavalariana on Crete (1327/8). Relevant examples are found in Cyprus in a twelfth century fresco in Panaghia Phorbiotissa in Asinou. An alteration exists in Aghios Nikolaos at Kastoria (twelfth century) where the Virgin looks at Gabriel, but her body is twisted to the opposite direction; a movement initiated by the feet. The background

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86 Acheimastou-Potamianou, Τοιχογραφίες, fig. 59, Malmquist, Castoria, p. 41.
87 Hadermann-Misguich, Kurbinovo, pp. 97-98.
88 Lymberopoulou, Kavalariana, p. 30.
89 Hadermann-Misguich, Kurbinovo, fig. 36, Lymberopoulou, Kavalariana, p. 28.
91 Malmquist, Castoria, p. 41.
of the fresco is set with the typical Late Byzantine ochre buildings with towers and narrow windows.\textsuperscript{92}

The last example of the Annunciation is located in the nave of Aghia Kyriaki developing in three panels as part of the Akathist Hymn, but unfortunately is the most damaged.\textsuperscript{93}

The description provided in the appendix is based solely on Prokopiou’s notes, as by the time of my fieldwork the group of frescoes, especially the last two, had been destroyed (Fig. 190).\textsuperscript{94} During the 1960s he had the opportunity to photograph and study the fresco in a better condition.

- The Nativity

The scene of the Nativity (Matthew 1: 19-23, Matthew 2: 1-12, Luke 2: 1-7) is present again in the same three churches. The earliest surviving representations of the Nativity are dated to the fourth century.\textsuperscript{95} It is a complicated scene combining five juxtaposed events, which were compiled to create the Middle Byzantine type around the seventh century.\textsuperscript{96} The five instants depict the Mother and Child, the maidens, Joseph standing alone, the shepherds listening to the angels, and the three Magi. One important aspect is Mary’s pose; she can be seated, reclined, standing upright, looking towards or away from Joseph or the Christ Child. Alterations can be part of the iconography even of the same region. For example, in Aghioi Anargyroi of Kastoria the Virgin sits upright, while in the neighbouring church of Aghios Nikolaos of Kasnitzi she lays horizontally (twelfth

\textsuperscript{92} This is a personal observation after visiting the church of Pantanassa in 2008.
\textsuperscript{93} Α. Παπαζότος, Η Βέροια και οι Ναοί της (11\textsuperscript{α}-18\textsuperscript{α} αι.)-Ιστορική και Αρχαιολογική Σπουδή των Μνημείων της Πόλης, Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού, Έκδοση του Ταμείο Αρχαιολογικών Πόρων και Απαλλοτριώσεων, Athens, 1994, p. 278.
\textsuperscript{94} The comments are based on his notes which were passed to me through his son, Georgios Prokopiou, and some black and white slides found in his database.
\textsuperscript{96} Μ. Ασπρά-Βαρδαβάκη & Μ. Εμμανουήλ, Η Μονή της Παναγίας στον Μυστρά: Οι Τοιχογραφίες του 15\textsuperscript{ο} Αιώνα, Εμπορική Τράπεζα της Ελλάδος, Athens, 2005, p. 99.
century). In the wall paintings of Crete a seated figure is rarely seen. Frequently, as in the classical older eleventh century example from the Monastery of Daphni, Mary is not drawn on the central axis of the fresco. On the other hand, often the Nativity is presented as part of the Akathist Hymn without the presence of shepherds, the Magi, and the maidens. In Paliochora, both in the Church of the Metamorphosis and Aghia Kyriaki the Virgin sits upright placed on the central axis of the panel.

The fresco which combines all five scenes and survives in a good condition is in the Church of the Metamorphosis (Fig. 191). The fresco develops in a simple format, utterly symmetrical, with the Mother of God and the Infant in the middle, surrounded by the four scenes scattered in the four corners. The exact same synthesis is presented in a twelfth century church, Panaghia of Arakos at Lagoudera on Cyprus. The diagonal placement of the cradle, which takes the form of a sarcophagus from the tenth century onwards, was a frequent element in Cretan frescoes, seen in our Lady of Kira at Kritsa (end of the fourteenth century). Joseph is emphatically separated, occupying the lower, right corner. His figure as an old, bent man is a form similar to figures from the post-fourteenth century period. In the lower left corner the two maidens are preparing the basin for Christ’s bath. These two elements can change their placement on the fresco, regardless if they belong to early or later examples. In the Panaghia of Arakos on Cyprus (1192), the frames depicting Joseph and the maidens are reversed. Exactly the same structure is presented on the south wall of the sanctuary in Aghios Demetrios Eleousas in Kastoria (1608). The shepherd associated with Josef is an element of Post Byzantine fresco painting seen in examples

97 Malmquist, Castoria, p. 45.
98 Kalokyris, Wall Paintings, p. 52.
99 Acheimastou-Potamianou, Τοίχωμαροφίης, fig. 65.
100 Aspra-Vardavaki, Πανάγια, p. 99, Kalokyris, Wall Paintings, p. 52.
101 Limouri, Icons, p. 139.
on Cyprus (Archangel Michael at Pedoulas/1474). The shepherds are placed in association to the angels on the upper part of the cave. The Adoration of the Magi occupies the upper left corner, coming as pedestrians without Persian costumes and Phrygian caps, pictured as an elder, a middle aged man, and a youth, bringing gold, frankincense, and myrrh. The only occasion where they are presented in a separate panel is when they are part of the Akathist Hymn. Finally, the separation of angels in two groups is common since the eleventh century (Hosios Loukas at Fokis).

In Paliochora both in the fresco in the church of the Metamorphosis and the Koimesis of the Theotokos (Fig. 192), the way that the artist organised and presented the five juxtaposed scenes is similar to another fresco from Aegina dated to the end of the thirteenth century, located in Omorphi Ecclesia (Fig. 268). It is highly probable that the artist was inspired by the existing fresco and created a similar model four centuries later. The fresco follows the old motif of the eleventh century with restricted number of figures. Frequently, the maiden are depicted on the right side, an element not seen in Aghia Kyriaki.

The final fresco in Aghia Kyriaki is depicting the seventh stanza of the Akathist Hymn (Fig. 162). The scene includes only a central cave, the Virgin kneeling in front of the Infant, Joseph standing behind her and the Shepherds paying their respects alongside the animals.

103 Aspra-Vardavaki, Παντάνασσα, p. 100.
104 Constantinidi, Ellasoon, p. 147.
105 Aspra-Vardavaki, Παντάνασσα, p. 100.
106 Omorphi Ecclesia means Beautiful Church in Greek.
107 Paisidou, Κοιμητίσι, p. 132.
• The Presentation in the Temple

The Presentation in the Temple (Luke 2:22) is a scene introduced in Constantinople around the sixth century from examples in Rome, Santa Maria Maggiore and Santa Maria Antigua (fifth century), but was not established before the tenth century. In Middle Byzantine examples from the mainland, the four main figures, Symeon and Anna, the Virgin and Josef, are divided into pairs on either side of the altar creating symmetry (Hosios Loukas, eleventh century). The symmetrical juxtaposition passes into certain Late and Post Byzantine examples, such as the Cathedral of Mistras in its first phase (1291/2-1315), Panaghia Olympiotissa at Elasm (c. 1295), Aghios Isidoros at Kakodiki on Crete (1420) and Taxiarchis Gymnasiou at Kastoria (seventeenth century). The second type with asymmetrical composition, leaving Simeon on one side, is frequent in Late Byzantine painting and appears in the second half of the fourteenth century. All the examples in Paliochora, three in number, follow the later division (Fig. 193). This iconographic detail provides evidence for the dating of the fresco in the Koimesis of the Theotokos which was constructed in 1225, but apparently the iconographic programme was executed or finished later on (Fig. 194). Another element providing chronological evidence is the bearer of the Child. Usually Simeon holds Christ after the twelfth century onwards, which is the case in the three examples in Paliochora. Similar examples are found in and Pantanassa in Mistras (fifteenth century), Aghios Demetrios Eleousas (1608), and Panaghia of Apostolakis (1605) at Kastoria.

110 Hadermann-Misguich, Kurbinovo, p. 120.
112 Hadermann-Misguich, Kurbinovo, p. 121, Constantinidi, Elason, pp. 116-117.
113 Aspra-Vardavaki, Παναγιά, p. 106.
114 Millet, Mistras, pl. 140, Paisidou, Κατατόπιο, pl. 2b, pp. 99, 138.
The only difference observed between the three frescoes is that in the Koimesis of the Theotokos and the Church of the Metamorphosis, Simeon stands on the right side, while in Aghia Kyriaki he is on the left (Fig. 166). This change is usually performed according to the placement of the sanctuary, as Mary has to look at its direction and Simeon to give the impression that exits the sanctuary to receive the Child. The Presentation in the Temple is an iconographic type which retained its architectural background, a long wall with towers, even in later provincial examples from the sixteenth century, when the scenery tended to be substituted for a monochromatic background.

- **The Transfiguration**

The Transfiguration is the fifth scene of the *dodekaorton* and is observed twice in churches from the thirteenth century; the Koimesis of the Theotokos and Taxiarhis Michael (Fig. 195-196). The synoptic Gospels mention the Transfiguration (Matthew 17, 1-9, Mark 9, 2-9, Luke 9, 28-36), describing the main features of this scene; Christ within a glory, the prophets Elijah and Moses at his sides and at the lower level the three disciples, Peter, John and James. The type was formed after the sixth century under the influence of the mosaic in Moni Sina. In the first example in Paliochora the upper part is severely destroyed and in the second the lower. Additionally, the fresco from Taxiarhis Michael is drawn on the curved surface of a blind arch, so the width is extremely restricted. Both examples present the condensed version that prevailed until the sixteenth century, which excludes the moment when Christ leads the disciples to and away from the mountain.

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The mandorla is an important feature which aids dating. The elliptical glory appeared first in the sixth century mosaic of the Monastery at Sina and remained a standard feature until the end of Middle Byzantine period, seen at Hosios Loukas at Fokis (eleventh century) and Aghios Nikolaos Kasnitzi at Kastoria (1160-80).\textsuperscript{118} In the Palaeologian period round glories become more frequent and generally other shapes of mandorlas, stars, diamonds, appear later during the Post Byzantine period, such as in Pantanassa in Mistras (1428) and Taxiarhis Gymnasiou at Kastoria (seventeenth century).\textsuperscript{119} Another element that changed over the centuries is the rays. The characteristic of the Middle Byzantine period is six rays, such as in the twelfth-century fresco in Aghios Nikolaos at Kastoria.\textsuperscript{120} In Taxiarhis Michael this number is raised to twenty, a type seen also at the earlier example of Sopoćani (thirteenth century).\textsuperscript{121} Although Luke’s Gospel includes the prophets inside the mandorla, usually frescoes after the eleventh century depict only Christ inside a glory, such as in the Koimesis of the Theotokos.\textsuperscript{122} The second example cannot provide any evidence as only the feet of Christ have survived. Finally, Mouriki has observed that the mandorla tends to be red in frescoes which have been influenced by Latin elements, a differentiation not found in Paliochora.\textsuperscript{123}

The disciples Peter, John, and James follow a specific arrangement dictated by the Gospel (Luke 9, 28). Mouriki comments that their placement was fixed from the eleventh century onwards.\textsuperscript{124} The selection is not random as the same three disciples are chosen in the motif of Praying in Gethsemane. They are allowed to see Christ in

\textsuperscript{118} Mouriki, \textit{Nea Moni}, p. 127.
\textsuperscript{120} Mouriki, \textit{Nea Moni}, p. 127, Malmquist, \textit{Kastoria}, p. 53.
\textsuperscript{121} Millet, \textit{Yugoslavie}, pl. 11.3.
\textsuperscript{123} D Mouriki, \textit{The Wall Paintings of the Church of the Panaghia at Moutoullas, Cyprus}, Byzanz und den Westen, Wien, 1984, p. 108.
\textsuperscript{124} Mouriki, \textit{Nea Moni}, p. 128.
Glory and witness his anguish. In post-eleventh century frescoes John is drawn on Christ’s feet almost in a horizontal position. Although the condition of the frescoes is poor, the contours indeed reveal a horizontal figure in the centre of the scene. However, it is difficult to distinguish if Peter accumulates the pose seen in Middle Byzantine examples, Nea Moni on Chios (eleventh century), where he supports himself with one hand, while protecting his eyes with the other. Finally, nimbed disciples, as seen in both examples of Paliochora, are a characteristic of the Palaeologian period.

Both examples follow the Late Byzantine prototypes. So far, specific elements date the iconographic programme of the Koimesis of the Theotokos to the fourteenth century. The colour palette, the design of figures and the style of brush strokes indicate that the Transfiguration is painted by the same artist who created the previous scenes of the dodekaorton, thus belongs to the same period.

- **The Raising of Lazarus**

The Raising of Lazarus symbolises the whole notion of Resurrection (John 11, 38-44). Lymberopoulou points out that this is the main reason why the scene is rarely omitted in Late and Post Byzantine examples. The scene has survived in a single example in Paliochora which is located in the Koimesis of the Theotokos and its condition is poor (Fig. 197). The elements which vary in different examples of the theme are the placement of the two sisters, the number of people who open the sarcophagus, the depiction of the unwrapping, and the number of disciples. The older convention of the type has restricted number of participants, observed in Panaghia Olympiotissa at

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125 Williams, *Dwelling*, pp. 10-11.
129 Lymberopoulou, *Kavalariana*, p. 64.
Elasson (c. 1295), but in general terms the number of secondary figures depends on the available space.\textsuperscript{130} In the fresco in the Koimesis of the Theotokos, we cannot discern the number of disciples behind Christ, but there is definitely a group of people on the right side, behind the tomb.

The two assistants are pulling open the cover of the tomb and nobody is unwrapping the shrouds, as is seen in examples on Cyprus, Panaghia of Moutoulla (thirteenth century) and Crete.\textsuperscript{131} The pattern of Paliochora is also found in Aghios Nikolaos Theologinas at Kastoria (1663).\textsuperscript{132} Mouriki comments that usually the pattern of two assistants, one of whom is covering his nose against the odour, and the diagonal placement of the stone, which is found in Paliochora, is seen in earlier examples.\textsuperscript{133} The two figures prostrate at Christ’s feet, Mary and Martha, are seen since the fifth century, but what alters is their posture.\textsuperscript{134} In Middle Byzantine examples, Nea Moni on Chios (eleventh century), Mary looks at Christ and Martha turns her head towards the tomb, also seen in the fourteenth-century church of the Archangel Michael Kavalariana.\textsuperscript{135} In Paliochora, both sisters focus their look in front. Last but not least, the number of Apostles who follow Christ varies according to the region. The Gospel narrative states firmly John’s presence (John 11, 16). Usually in iconography the number of his followers is raised to three with the addition of Peter and Thomas.\textsuperscript{136} For example, in Pantanassa in Mistras (1428) Christ is followed by a large group of disciples and faithful and in Kastoria (Aghios Demetrios Eleousas, 1663) by Peter and five other disciples.\textsuperscript{137} Unfortunately, the fresco in Paliochora is destroyed beyond the image of Christ, so it cannot be identified who are his followers.

\textsuperscript{131} Stylianou, \textit{Painted Churches}, p. 166, Lymberopoulou, \textit{Kavalariana}, p. 64.
\textsuperscript{132} Paisidou, \textit{Kastoria}, p. 107.
\textsuperscript{134} Schiller, \textit{Iconography}, p. 191.
\textsuperscript{135} Mouriki, \textit{Nea Moni}, p. 176, Lymberopoulou, \textit{Kavalariana}, p. 66.
\textsuperscript{136} Millet, \textit{Recherches}, pp. 232-254.
\textsuperscript{137} Aspra-Vardavaki, \textit{Παντάνασσα}, fig. 48, Paisidou, \textit{Kavalariana}, pl. 47a.
Lazarus’ figure bears a nimbus, as accustomed from the eleventh century onwards.\textsuperscript{138} At the present state of the fresco, it is not possible to identify if his face is presented with traces of decomposition, as in Saint George at Kurbinovo (1192), or if these as marks from the white-washing procedure.\textsuperscript{139} According to the number of figures, their placements and postures, and the existence of the sarcophagus, the fresco of the Koimesis of the Theotokos consists an example of Late Byzantine iconography.

- **The Entry into Jerusalem**

The Entry into Jerusalem depicts Christ’s glorious entrance into the city, as described by all four Evangelists (Matthew 21:1-11; Mark 11:1-11; Luke 19:28-44; John 12:12-19). The observations that can be made regarding this iconographic type refer to the side from which Christ enters the scene, the direction of his head, and the organisation of groups of followers. In Orthodox iconography Christ enters the city from the left side sitting sideways on a white ass.\textsuperscript{140} In Paliochora the examples are located in Taxiarchis Michael and the Koimesis of the Theotokos (Fig. 198-199). The first example is depicted, just as the fresco of the Transfiguration, on the curved surface of an arch. Consequently, the lines are prolonged on the vertical axis, creating a disproportionate result.

Furthermore, in Middle Byzantine depictions, Hosios Loukas (eleventh century) and Cappella Palatina in Palermo (twelfth century), Christ looks forward while the most common depictions of later examples established from the twelfth century onwards, show Christ with his view focused behind.\textsuperscript{141} However, there are examples from the

\textsuperscript{139} Hadermann-Misguich, *Kurbinovo*, fig. 57.
\textsuperscript{140} Constantinidi, *Elssson*, p. 124.
fifteenth century such as Pantanassa in Mistras where Christ looks towards the city.\textsuperscript{142} In the church of the Metamorphosis the whole figure has been destroyed and only the shape of the horse can be discerned, but in the remaining two, Christ follows the later depiction looking away from the city. One interesting element is the colour of the ass. The Gospels refer to a white ass, but in both examples in Paliochora the artists drew it in grey tones.

An important element of this scene is the presence of children who are mentioned in Matthew’s Gospel. Children exist only in the fresco from the Koimesis of the Theotokos; recognized by their contours. The fresco from Taxiarchis Michael does not include this feature, probably due to its restricted size. In Middle Byzantine frescoes, when scenes included minor numbers of figures such as in the Monastery of Daphni (eleventh century), Christ was followed mainly by John and greeted by a small group of figures, three or four, before the city gates.\textsuperscript{143} The fresco from the Koimesis of the Theotokos follows the Middle Byzantine motif while in Taxiarchs Michael more figures are added. The architectural background is essential in this scene, especially on the right side to depict the city of Jerusalem.

- **The Crucifixion**

The Crucifixion is one of the older themes which appear in the repertoire of Christian iconography, described in all canonical Gospels (Matthew 27, 33-56; Mark 15, 22-41; Luke 23, 33-49; John 19, 17-37). The basic discourse subjects in a Crucifixion fresco are the shape of Christ’s body, the postures of the Virgin and the Apostle John, the

\textsuperscript{142} Aspra-Vardavaki, \textit{Παντάνασσα}, p. 126.

\textsuperscript{143} The example comes from personal observation of the mosaics inside the Monastery in 2007.
number of additional mourners, the appearance of the two thieves and soldiers, and the organisation of the background.

Three frescoes are located in Aghios Nikolaos the North, Aghioi Theodoroi, and Timios Stavros providing completely different approaches to the subject. The only common point is the symmetrical presentation towards the vertical axis formed by the Cross. The oldest fresco comes from a church dated to the thirteenth century, Aghios Nikolaos the North, and expands on the arch of the south wall (Fig. 200). The presence of the sun and moon at the sides of the Cross is an iconographic feature was strongly related to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (Panaghia Mavriotissa at Kastoria), signifying the eclipse of the sun mentioned in the Gospels at the time of Christ’s death (Matthew 27,45; Mark 15,33; Luke 23,44-45), but passed also in examples from the fifteenth century as Aghios Mamas in Louvaras (1465-95). Earlier, in Middle Byzantine examples (Nea Moni on Chios, eleventh century), two angels were present as cosmic symbols of the sun and moon.

The two frescoes from Aghios Nikolaos the North and Aghioi Theodoroi follow the general ambience for more crowded scenes and abandon the classical three-figure model of the eleventh century (Hosios Loukas, Monastery of Daphni), but do not reach the level the multi-figural representations with Italo-Byzantine elements such as the Crucifixion in Panaghia Podithou on Cyprus where the excitement of the public is obvious (1502). However, the seventeenth-century fresco in Timios Stavros returns to the austere model of three figures, imitating the pattern from Middle Byzantine painting (Fig. 201-202).

144 Mouriki, Nea Moni, p. 130, Acheimastou-Potamianou, Τοιχογραφίες, fig. 74.
145 Mouriki, Nea Moni, p. 130.
146 However, in the third famous example in Nea Moni at Chios, there are three female figures under the Cross, all versions of the same woman, like replicas, found also in Çarikli Kilise in Cappadocia. Mouriki, Nea Moni, p. 132, A Weyl Carr, ‘Byzantines and Italians on Cyprus: Images from Art’, Dumbarton Oaks Papers, vol. 49, 1995, pp. 339-357, fig. 7.
Christ’s body is turned towards a different direction in each example. In Aghios Nikolaos the North the curve is drawn towards his right, while in Aghioi Theodoroi and Timios Stavros the body is almost vertical, with the knees pointing to his left in the latter. The traditional representation constituted a sharp curve, breast pushed out towards the right, hips to the left, and knees close together, seen clearly in Panaghia Olympiotissa at Elasson (c.1295), in examples on Cyprus (Panaghia Podithou/1502, Aghios Mamas at Louvaras/1465-95), but also in the seventeenth-century example in Aghios Nikolaos Theologinas at Kastoria. The straight alignment seen in Aghioi Theodoroi and Timios Stavros is also found in Cretan examples in Our Lady Lambiotis and the Nativity of the Virgin at Kadros (fourteenth century).

In Timios Stavros the Virgin and the Apostle John are the only mourning figures, holding their head with their hands, in this gesture of sorrow analysed extensively by Maguire. Their postures are constrained, imitating the Middle Byzantine prototype and avoiding the type of the Virgin fainting which started appearing in regions where Latin presence was prominent (Monastery of John Lambadistis at Kalopanayiotis on Cyprus, end of thirteenth century). This depiction is encountered in other Post Byzantine examples, such as in Panaghia in Aghioi Anargyroi at Kastoria (1634). The addition of mourning figures became more frequent in the post-twelfth century period, as seen in the other two examples of Paliochora, but due to artistic freedom and occasionally lack of space in the small churches of the provinces, additions were not always applied and the artists preferred older models. The depiction of the thieves and soldiers, although omitted in the grand examples of the eleventh century (Hosios

147 Constantinidi, Elasson, p. 125, Paisidou, Καστοριά, pp. 81, 82.
148 Kalokyris, Wall Paintings, pp. 69, 78, fig. C5.
149 Maguire, ‘Depiction’, pp. 141-142
151 Paisidou, Καστοριά, fig. 49b.
152 Multi-figural Crucifixion scenes were frequent in Cappadocia, but also in western examples as well, such as Monreale Cathedral, Malmquist, Castoria, p. 62.
Loukas, Monastery of Daphni), appeared early in Syrian examples.\textsuperscript{153} In Paliochora the thieves exist only in the fresco in Aghioi Theodoroi, and the two soldiers in the latter and Aghios Nikolaos the North. The background is monochromatic, with the exception of this fresco where the walls of the city with two towers, symbolizing the Church and the Synagogue, are extended behind the Crucifixion. Exactly the same motif is seen in the fourteenth-century example in Our Lady Gouverniotissa, at Potamies on Crete.\textsuperscript{154}

The Crucifixion frescoes vary in elements such as the number of figures. The Virgin and the Apostle John do not reflect intense sorrow, typical of Late and Post Byzantine iconography, by projected gestures or body movements, but retain the conservative attire of the Middle Byzantine period. The addition or absence of secondary figures is based on the available space and preference of the artist, underlining the sense of freedom and regional differentiation of the period.

- **Pentecost**

The final example of the dodekaorton depicts Pentecost described at the second chapter of the Book of Acts (Acts 2:1-13). In Paliochora only one example exists in the sanctuary of the Church of the Metamorphosis from the seventeenth century associated with the Eucharistic cycle (Fig. 203).\textsuperscript{155} The depiction of Pentecost appeared during the tenth century and was standardised since the Middle Byzantine period and there are only a few elements differentiated in frescoes from different regions.\textsuperscript{156}

\textsuperscript{153} Millet, *Recherches*, 423-424.
\textsuperscript{154} Kalokyris, *Wall Paintings*, fig. BW40.
\textsuperscript{155} Ouspensky, *Theology*, pp. 201-209.
There are twelve Apostles present, Mathias has been substituted for Judas, and until the seventeenth century the Theotokos is absent from the scene.\textsuperscript{157} Although this fresco is painted after this chronological point due to the date of construction of the church, the Virgin is still absent. Diez and Demus identify that in Eastern examples the figures are placed in semi-circular juxtaposition or around an oval table with Paul and Peter at the top, as the type was developed for curved surfaces.\textsuperscript{158} The example in Paliochora follows the depiction around an oval shape.\textsuperscript{159} An identical fresco from the same century, but in a better state, is found in the Metamorphosis Sotiros at Palaichori on Cyprus.\textsuperscript{160} In these two frescoes there are no rays of light or flames upon the Apostle’s heads such as in Panaghia-Mikri Episkopi on Crete (1444).\textsuperscript{161} Vardavaki attributes that to their depiction as founders of the Church and not at the moment when they receive the Holy Spirit.\textsuperscript{162}

Apart from the twelve figures, there is one crowned man isolated in the middle, holding an arch. He represents the World, because according to the scriptures the Holy Spirit descended not only on the Apostles, but upon all those who were with them.\textsuperscript{163} Paisidou remarks that the depiction of the World is frequent in Northwest Greece due to its descriptive character in iconography, providing examples from the sixteenth century onwards in the Monastery Filanthropinon and Diliou, Aghioi Anargyroi in Klidonia, and Paleopanagia in Steni-Euboia.\textsuperscript{164}

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\textsuperscript{159} Paisidou, \textit{Καστορίδα}, pl. 53.
\textsuperscript{161} I Spatharakis, \textit{Dated Byzantine Wall Paintings of Crete}, Alexandros Press, Leiden, 2001, fig. 170.
\textsuperscript{162} Aspra-Vardavaki, \textit{Παναγία Μακεδονίας}, p. 223.
\textsuperscript{163} Hadermann-Misguich, \textit{Kurbinovo}, p. 149.
\textsuperscript{164} Paisidou, \textit{Καστορίδα}, p.104.
\end{flushleft}
The analysis of all the available themes of the *dodekaorton* individually showed that the church which possesses the largest number of frescoes of the series is the Koimesis of the Theotokos with five scenes. The actual existence of a sequence of frescoes proved important for the analysis of the iconographic programme, as certain details from the frescoes date the creation of the iconographic programme to the fourteenth century and not the thirteenth, as initially stated by Prokopiou. In addition the frescoes in the Church of the Metamorphosis generally follow earlier motifs imitating Middle and Late Byzantine prototypes. The Koimesis of the Theotokos is the only case where the position of the destroyed scenes can be assumed on the white washed spaces between the existing ones, as their depiction follows an anticlockwise manner (Fig. 204). The presentation of frescoes follows an anticlockwise manner starting from the south wall. After the Presentation in the Temple there is a white-washed surface which was occupied most probably by the Baptism. However, the Transfiguration is placed after the Entry to Jerusalem. All the events from the Crucifixion onwards are absent, while the cycle of *dodekaorton* is interrupted by the Incredulity of Thomas. Probably the frescoes continued again to the south wall, leaving the semi-circular surface above the entrance for the Last Judgement. All the other frescoes from the *dodekaorton*, existing in the eight churches of Paliochora are isolated examples and cannot provide guidance for creating a plan of the original iconographic programme and its placement.

- **Christ’s Passion**

The iconographic programmes of Paliochora offer two more subjects, emanating from Christ’s Passion; the Washing of the Feet (John 13, 1-17) and the Last Supper (Matthew 26, 17-30, Mark 14, 12-26, Luke 22, 7-39, John 13, 1-17, 26). These frescoes

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are depicted in the sanctuary of the Church of the Metamorphosis, as part of the iconography above the Diakonikon, and also in the vault of the Cathedral. The scene of the Washing of the Feet is dominated by a rectangular table drawn in reverse perspective (Fig. 205-153). Christ is focuses on Peter according to the scriptures, who has his foot on the vessel and raises his hand in a gesture of unworthiness. The style of depiction is found in the Monastery of Neophytos in Paphos (1503).

Christ’s position varies during the Middle Byzantine period. According to Mouriki, a central placement of Christ, is encountered in the scene in Hosios Loukas (eleventh century), where the Apostles are not placed in juxtaposition behind and in front of the table, but form a circle around Christ, but in Nea Moni on Chios Christ is placed to the left. In Aghios Mamas at Louvaras (1465-95) the position of the Apostles who form a crowd on the right side of the panel is attributed to western influences which are not apparent in the two frescoes in Paliochora. The frescoes from Paliochora employ the ordinary background of walls with towers to create a sense of architectural background, influenced by Late Byzantine examples (Aghios Nikolaos Orphanos at Thessaloniki/1320).

The Last Supper (Matthew 26,17-30; Mark 14,12-26; Luke 22,7-39, John 13,1-17) is an ancient theme of Christian iconography with the earliest surviving image found in Saint Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna. The two frescoes in Paliochora are almost identical (Fig. 206-154). Christ and the twelve Apostles are seated around an oval table again drawn in a mixture of reverse perspective and a viewpoint from above like a plan. The arrangement around an oval table constitutes an innovation of the

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166 Pennas, Ἀγία, pp. 56-57.
167 Mouriki, Nea Moni, p. 181.
168 Stylianou, Painted Churches, p. 134.
169 Mouriki, Nea Moni, p. 181.
170 Hein, Cyprus, fig. 68.
171 Millet, Recherches, 310-312, Acheimastou-Potamianou, Πανοράμες, fig. 141.
fourteenth century, while a round table would be a characteristic of the Syrian type. Christ in the middle of the table surrounded by Peter and John is also a Syrian prototype, while in the second format Christ is placed on the left side and the Apostles on the front turn almost profile in order not to hide their faces (Aghios Mamas at Louvaras on Cyprus/1465-95). Some Late Byzantine depictions, such as in Panaghia of Apostolakis (1605) and Aghios Nikolaos of Thomanos (1639) at Kastoria reveal more emotion by showing John leaning towards Christ’s. According to Schiller sometimes Judas is absent, but when he is part of the scene he can be identified as the figure bending forward. In the frescoes under examination, the third figure on Christ’s left side is bending to catch a fish, an element of post-fourteenth century iconography; a symbolic gesture, linked to Early Christian depictions of Christ.

- **Post-Anastasis events**

The post-Anastasis events include the Noli me Tangere, the Incredulity of Thomas, and the Last Judgement.

The first scene in the category of post-Anastasis events is the ‘Noli me Tangere’ or ‘Touch me Not’ (John 20:17). The scene is recognized by the position of the two figures, as it has suffered extensive damage (Fig. 156). Christ is standing on the right, on a slightly higher level, while Mary Magdalene kneels before him and recognizes him. Christ is usually holding his robe with one hand and a scroll with the other, but the lower part of his body does not exist. This fresco was common in fifteenth century

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173 Paisidou, Καστοριά, p. 97.
174 Millet, Recherches, p. 288, figs. 277-279, Hein, Cyprus, fig. 68.
175 Paisidou, Καστοριά, p. 79.
176 Schiller, Iconography, pp. 30-31.
178 *Noli me Tangere* is the Latin version of words spoken when Mary Magdalene recognized Christ after his Ressurection (John 20:17).
Cretan painting due to the combination of two subjects favoured both by the Orthodox and the Catholics. Christ’s resurrection is the central point of the Orthodox faith and Mary Magdalene received high importance in the Catholic faith.¹⁷⁹ From the sixth century onwards the scene included also the Virgin Mary, a figure that survived until the eighteenth century.¹⁸⁰ In Paliochora, although the right part of the fresco is destroyed, it seems that there was no other figure present. This form is similar to the depiction in Panaghia Theotokos at Galatas on Cyprus (1520).¹⁸¹

The Incredulity of Thomas is recorded only in John’s Gospel (John 20:24-29) and was modelled in the illuminated manuscripts of Mistras and Mount Athos.¹⁸² Its depiction was standardised after the Middle Byzantine period with examples in the crypt of Hosios Loukas.¹⁸³ It became a trademark of Late and Post Byzantine art in the North and the Balkans with relevant frescoes encountered in the Protaton of Mount Athos (thirteenth century), Panagia of Aghioi Anargyroi at Kastoria (1657), and Dormition of the Virgin in Kourdali (sixteenth century), Cyprus.¹⁸⁴ In Paliochora this scene exists in the Cathedral, the Church of the Metamorphosis, and the Koimesis of the Theotokos (Fig. 157-207). In the first two examples, Christ divides with his presence two groups of disciples led by Thomas and Peter, who move towards Christ. The projection of their knees is the key part that reveals movement as the drapery of the clothes is not moving so freely to the back. Christ movement and Thomas’ hesitation are additions of

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 190.
¹⁸¹ Stylianou, Painted Churches, p. 49.
¹⁸² Kalokyris, Wall Paintings, p. 106.
¹⁸⁴ Paisidou, Καταρρίπτω, p. 92, Stylianou, Painted Churches, p. 69.
Middle Byzantine iconography (Monastery of Daphni, eleventh century). Thomas shows his fear by having a bent posture which diminishes his height.

Contrary to the symmetrical, conventional depiction of the seventeenth century, the earlier example in the Koimesis of the Theotokos follows a different pattern (Fig. 208). Although Christ occupies the central axis, the scene is drawn in multiple layers, bringing Thomas to the forefront and promoting him to the focal position. It is one of the rare times that an attempt to draw the third dimension is almost successful. The heights of the figures are organised according to the depth of their placement, creating a harmonious link with the architectural background. In the Cathedral and the Church of the Metamorphosis all figures are present in three-quarters mode, while in the Koimesis of the Theotokos, the artist used a mixture with frontal depictions.

The Last Judgement (Matthew 25, 31-36, 40-43, 45-46; Luke 12, 4-5, 49; Rev 20. 11-12) is a complicated subject both in matters of structural organisation and placement inside the nave. The example which established its appearance in the iconographic programme of Late and Post Byzantine churches is the fresco at the parekklesion in the Chora Monastery in Constantinople (1315-1321), but it was standardized in the iconographic programme of the sixteenth century. Mouriki in her article comments that the basic elements did not change, except for the empty space which in Post Byzantine depictions tended to fill with additional eschatological figures. However, due to its extensive size it tends to be represented partially in small provincial churches. In Paliochora the scene survives in six churches, providing a wealth of

185 Demus, Sicily, p. 290.
188 Kalokyris, Wall Paintings, p. 117.
information for the evolution of the type. The examples which preoccupy the analysis at this stage are found in the Koimesis of the Theotokos, Aghios Efthymios, Aghios Nikolaos the North, the Cathedral, Aghia Kyriaki, and Aghioi Anargyroi.

The Last Judgement is a multi-figural scene divided into many horizontal levels and usually occupies a large surface of the internal walls of a nave. The central subject is Christ inside a mandorla surrounded by Mary and John the Baptist, in the evolution of the Deisis panel, flanked by the enthroned Apostles. In all examples in Paliochora, except for Aghios Nikolaos the North where this part is destroyed, Christ is encircled by a round mandorla. In all the examples in Paliochora, the Apostles are seated on a semi-circular throne, which follows the shape of the arch, at the same level as Christ, as seen in Panaghia of Apostolakis at Kastoria (1605). Furthermore, in Aghia Kyriaki the Virgin and John the Baptist step on the semi-circular throne, while in all other cases they seem to be floating. Another interesting detail for the panel in Aghioi Anargyroi is that John the Baptist is painted slightly on a higher level than the Virgin (Fig. 209).

Occasionally, the angels were depicted in a different fresco under the Last Judgement, as in the fresco from Aghia Kyriaki, along with the Scales of Justice (Fig. 210-211). A proper scale is drawn on the central axis from where the angels pick the names of the elect and condemned. In Aghios Efthymios the scale is under Adam and Eve such as in Aghios Nikolaos of Kiritzi at Kastoria (1654), while in Aghia Kyriaki it forms a separate zone, divided by the usual red frame. In Aghia Kyriaki the souls seem to have immediate contact with the scale while in Aghios Efthymios they are placed in the lower zone.

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189 Paisidou, Καστοριά, p. 171.
190 ibid.
Directly under the Deisis panel, the scene of the *Hetoimasia* is depicted. Adam and Eve, usually figures in black, bow in front of an empty throne with a Bible on it, which is being prepared for Christ. This part has survived in the Koimesis of the Theotokos, Aghios Nikolaos, and Aghios Efthymios (Fig. 212-213-214). Paisidou confirms the existence of the empty throne in all the examples at Kastoria dating from the seventeenth century. The throne is not part of the fresco of Aghia Kyriaki and in Aghios Efthymios it is replaced by a golden altar. Christ stands behind the altar in the position of the celebrant of a Mass, closer to the western prototype seen in the Vatican panel by Niccolo and Giovanni Roman (second half of the twelfth century).

The third zone presents the division of the elect and the condemned on Christ’s right and left side respectively; a vision of paradise and hell. Angels are accompanying the groups either to heaven or to the fiery doors of hell. A surrounded paradise started appearing since the eleventh century, but became a standard feature during the fourteenth century. This part of the theme survives only in Aghios Efthymios, as in all other cases the lower part has been destroyed. In front of the door there is a figure which holds a white key, the Apostle Peter. The bloody river is demarcated by a circular red line on the right part of the fresco, exactly as seen in Eisodia of Tsiapatas at Kastoria (1613).

The angel with the trumpet exists in Aghia Kyriaki, accompanied by the inscription: Ἅγγελος Κυρίου σαλνίζων ἐν τῇ Γῇ. Δεῦτε οἱ ευλογημένοι τοῦ Πατρός μου

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191 *Hetoimasia* means preparation and denotes the Preparation of the Throne. The empty throne goes back to pre-Hellenistic times when worshippers used to prepare them for their gods. It is a pagan tradition embedded in Christian faith. Stylianou, *Painted Churches*, p. 105.
The open scroll became a Post Byzantine tradition observed, however, initially in Panagia Chalkeon from the eleventh century. The division of souls is apparent in frescoes which survive as a whole; the Koimesis of the Theotokos, Aghios Efthymios, and Aghia Kyriaki. In Aghia Kyriaki the souls are placed inside clouds, as seen in Aghios Nikolaos of Kiritzi at Kastoria (1654).

Apart from the overall hierarchical organisation of the scene, there are minor changes between the six examples in Paliochora, due to artistic freedom. For example, in Aghia Kyriaki there are different zones for the choirs of saints, separated by red lines, seen also in the Church of the Holy Apostles at Pera Chorio on Cyprus (fifteenth century), while in the other examples they blend in one united canvas. In Aghioi Anargyroi Christ wears a red chiton, in Aghia Kyriaki ochre, and in Aghios Nikolaos one drawn in a dark colour. In the other three frescoes his figure is destroyed.

In Rev. 20:13-14, in the vision of the judgment of the dead, it is written:

‘The Sea gave up the dead that were in it, and death and Hades gave up the dead that were in them, and each person was judged according to what he had done. Then death and Hades were thrown into the lake of fire. The lake of fire is the second death’.

Frequently, the personification of the Sea is drawn in the lower right part of the Last Judgement, under Christ (Panagia of Apostolakis in Kastoria/1605). This motif is encountered in the Balkans as well; in the fourteenth century monastery in Sopoćani and in Monastery of Gračanica in Serbia. Traditionally, the personification of the Sea in Byzantine iconography is depicted in Hellenistic prototypes, by a naked woman with

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196 ‘The angel of God is playing the trumpet on Earth. The blessed of the Father come and inherit the kingdom which is prepared from the beginning of the world’.
198 Paisidou, Καστορίδα, p. 175.
199 Millet, Yogosiavie, pl. 98.4
long hair, who seats on a sea monster and holds a sceptre or the horn of abundance, such as in the church of Theotokos in Anisaraki on Crete (Fig. 215).\(^{200}\) In Aghioi Anargyroi and Aghia Kyriaki, this part is drawn on a separate triangular surface on the north wall next to the Last Judgement and not as part of it, while the figure holds a sail boat. A similar depiction is found Eisodia of Tsiapatas (1613) and Aghios Nikolaos of Kiritzi at Kastoria (1654).\(^{201}\) The personification of the Sea is accompanied by the personification of the Earth; sea and earth giving up their dead on the day of the Final Judgement. However, a second female figure is observed only in Aghioi Anargyroi, on the left part of the fresco (Fig. 216). The figure is significantly smaller than the Sea, a fact observed reversed in Panaghia of Apostolakis at Kastoria (1605).\(^{202}\) The personification of the Sea evolved in the provinces and acquired a new meaning. The frescoes of the personification of the sea are accompanied by inscriptions relating to an invasion and praying for salvation and protection. ‘God please remember your servant and his boat in this day of judgement, 1540’ is inscribed under the fresco in Aghia Kyriaki.

The fresco of the Last Judgement in Aghioi Anargyroi is linked with another scene as well placed opposite the Personification of the Sea; Mary in Paradise (Fig. 217). This fresco is frequently encountered as part of the Last Judgement on the lower left corner, under the elect and paradise, as seen in the remaining part in the Cathedral (Fig. 148) and in and example from Kastoria (Aghios Nikolaos of Kiritzi/1654).\(^{203}\) In Paliochora it includes five juxtaposed figures; the Virgin Enthroned without Christ, two angels around her, Abraham seated in a kind of altar holding an arc, and the good thief from the Crucifixion.\(^{204}\) The Virgin holds a flowered stalk which denotes the

\(^{200}\) Kalokyris, *Wall Paintings*, pl. BW29.
\(^{201}\) Paisidou, *Καστοριά*, p. 175.
\(^{202}\) Ibid., p. 172.
\(^{203}\) Paisidou, *Καστοριά*, p. 176.
\(^{204}\) The monograms above the angels’ heads indicate that they are the Archangels Michael and Raphael.
Annunciation. In Panaghia Kapetaniana on Crete (1401-02) the last two figures are placed together on the right part of the fresco.205

Apart from the subject matter and organisation of scenes, the second issue which is important in this study is the placement of frescoes. The Last Judgement was frequently placed on the west wall, above the main entrance, for admonition and to mark the end of a cycle of paintings which were presented progressively on the internal surface.206 The Last Judgement is placed in this position in the Koimesis of the Theotokos, Aghia Kyriaki, and Aghioi Anargyroi. However, other placements are chosen, such as the narthex or blind arches on the south wall. The frescoes of Aghios Nikolaos the North and Aghios Efthymios occupy one of the blind arches of the long walls and the one in the Cathedral part of the south wall.

**The Archangels**

Apart from their appearance in the conch of the apse alongside the Virgin, or their participation in the *dodekaorton*, the Archangels are found in the iconographic programme of the nave as isolated figures, as warriors or in imperial garments. Due to their protective, guarding role they often appear close to entrances or next to the sanctuary. Specifically, the type of the Archangel Michael as a guard is presented during the fourteenth century.207 On Cyprus after the fourteenth century he was frequently placed on the southern niche, a motif followed also in Kastoria.208 In Paliochora this pattern is disrupted both by restricted space and personal choices of the artists. The only example where the Archangel Michael is placed next to the

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205 Spatharakis, *Wall Paintings*, fig. 140.
entrance of the church is Aghios Stephanos (Fig. 218). The remaining frescoes in the Koimesis of the Theotokos, Aghios Dionysios, Aghios Nikolaos the North, Aghioi Theodoroi are painted either in the arches of the long walls or on the spandrels of the arches (Fig. 219).\textsuperscript{209}

The Archangel Michael has extreme prominence in Byzantine iconography.\textsuperscript{210} In all frescoes the Archangel is front-facing holding an unsheathed sword with his right hand slightly diagonally placed, a standard type found in the majority of churches on Cyprus (Fig. 220).\textsuperscript{211} His left hand is only detected in Aghios Nikolaos where he holds the seath turned upside down. The only differences are detected in his garments and his facial features. His vestments include all the necessary military accessories, such as cuirass cover for the torso and short tunic, using various colours based on earth tones. A similar fresco, but with a different placement of the seath in found in Aghios Georgios at Komitades on Crete (1313-14).\textsuperscript{212} Equivalent frontal figures of the Archangel Michael are seen in Late and Post Byzantine examples, such as in Church of Saint Heracleidius at Kalopanayiotis (thirteenth century) and in Panaghia Theotokos at Galatasa (sixteenth century) on Cyprus.\textsuperscript{213} In Panaghia Olympiotissa at Elasson (c.1295), the Archangel in drawn in an identical posture paired with the Archangel Michael who holds a labarum and the globe.\textsuperscript{214} In Paliochora, the Archangel Gabriel, apart from his involvement in the Annunciation scene, has not survived in any other fresco. There is a possibility that there was one more fresco in Aghioi Theodoroi, as the Archangel Michael occupies half of the arch, leaving space for an identical figure which

\textsuperscript{209} There are two more frescoes in Aghios Ioannis Prodromos and Aghios Charalambos, but they are dated to the twentieth century according to inscriptions. Probably the frescoes in Aghios Ioannis Prodromos are unsuccessful renovations, as there are frescoes from the original iconographic programme.
\textsuperscript{210} Tradigo, \textit{Icons}, p. 46.
\textsuperscript{212} Spatharakis, \textit{Wall Paintings}, fig. 27.
is now destroyed (Fig. 221). The condition of the frescoes in the Koimesis of the Theotokos and Aghioi Theodoroi is poor (Fig. 222).

Apart from the leader of the army of angels there is one angelic fresco in the church of Taxiarchis Michael which is divided into two zones. In the upper part there is the figure of an angel in three quarters position with short hair holding a Gospel and the lower zone is occupied by an animal form which cannot be identified with certainty. Its shape and the appearance of a tail indicate the presence of a horse. This iconographique type is not encountered in any other church in Paliochora, neither in the examined examples of Kastoria, Cyprus or Crete (Fig. 223).

**The Prophets**

The pattern of the twelve prophets occupying the tympanum of the dome, which was established during the Middle Byzantine period, seen in the major monasteries of Daphni and Hosios Loukas at Fokis (eleventh century), was not frequently used in Late and Post Byzantine churches, basically due to the architectural changes that occurred and the return of the basilica type. However, in grand projects such as the Pantanassa in Mistras (1428) busts of prophets occupy the existing domes. This pattern never appears in Paliochora, although there are three domed churches in the peninsula. The prophets appear as individual figures and their placement in the nave varies accordingly.

The fresco of the Prophet Elias from Aghios Georgios is dated to the seventeenth century along with the construction of the church (Fig. 224). Although originally it seems a traditional figural representation of the prophet on one of the arches of the

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215 Rodley, *Byzantine Art*, pp. 217, fig. 171.
lower zones, the addition of the raven in the upper left corner associates the fresco with the Old Testament event; the raven feeding Elias in the desert. The raven comes from above carrying bread in its beak. The prophet is not placed inside a cave, but stands as a three-quarter figure holding an open scroll. The phrase inscribed is associated with all his frescoes: ‘As the Lord liveth and as my soul liveth, I will not leave thee’.217 The exact same depiction is found in the narthex of Eisodia of Tsiapatas at Kastoria (1613).218 The Prophet with the raven is an addition to the iconographic programme of the thirteenth century on a portable icon at Sina. However, in this depiction the Prophet accumulates the orans position.219 This theme is frequently placed inside the sanctuary due to its Eucharistic connotations. The fresco in Aghia Kyriaki shows the prophet standing, but without the addition of the raven, seen also in Panaghia of Mouzevikis at Kastoria from 1654 (Fig. 225).220

All the other frescoes depicting prophets are gathered in the nave of the Cathedral, occupying random positions. The prophets that appear are Daniel, Solomon, Jeremiah, Moses and three more who are unidentifiable (Fig. 226-227-228). Their representation follows a three-quarters mode, facing towards the altar, and except for Moses who is drawn on the surface of a blind arch on the south wall, the remaining two are presented on spandrels of arches. All prophets hold open scrolls inscribed with their characteristic prophecy. In Middle Byzantine representations the Prophet Daniel is depicted youthful and beardless with a Persian hat, and mantle, as mentioned by Elpios the Roman.221 In Paliochora he is represented as an old man with grey heir and short beard. In addition, during the Palaeologian period the Prophet Moses was drawn

218 Paisidou, Kαστοπιδ, p. 167.
219 V Lazarev, Storia della pittura bizantina, Turin, 1967, fig. 332.
220 Paisidou, Kαστοπιδ, pl. 42a.
221 Mouriki, Nea Moni, p. 100, Constantinidi, Elasson, p. 17.
as a mature man (Parigoritissa at Arta/1294-96) while in Paliochora is depicted young and beardless.\textsuperscript{222}

**The Apostles**

The only Apostles depicted as sole figures are Peter, Paul, and John. The Apostles Peter and Paul appear in a similar representation in the Cathedral, Zoodochos Pege, and the Church of the Metamorphosis holding a model of the Church (Fig. 229). In the Cathedral and Zoodochos Pege they occupy the surface above the main entrance on the west wall (Fig. 230-147). In the third example they share the north arch with Aghios Nikolaos. Their depiction and placement was standardized from an early period and it was very common in Palaeologian programmes, such as in Saint Clement at Bogorodica (thirteenth century) and Panaghia Olympiotissa at Elsson (c.1295).\textsuperscript{223} Their juxtaposition is common in papal iconography, as spiritual founders of Rome.\textsuperscript{224} During the medieval period they occupied positions of eminence in medieval altarpieces.\textsuperscript{225} Peter follows the iconography of an old man with white rounded beard, while Paul is bald with a brown rush-like beard and grey hair, as seen in Kastoria (Aghios Demetrios Eleousas/1608, Eisodia of Tsiapatas/1613).\textsuperscript{226} However, the Apostle Paul follows the western prototype in the frescoes in the Cathedral and Zoodochos Pege, a middle aged man with dark hair and beard. Instead of being bald, he is painted with brown hair and beard.\textsuperscript{227} This difference supports further the argument that has been presented throughout this thesis that the north nave of Aghia Kyriaki was

\textsuperscript{222} Aspra-Vardavaki, Παναγία σαςōsa, p. 169.
\textsuperscript{223} Constantinidi, Elsson, pp. 240-242.
\textsuperscript{224} FH Jacobs, Studies in Patronage and Iconography of Pope Paul III (1534-1549), University of Virginia, Virginia, 1979, p. 42.
\textsuperscript{226} Paisidou, Καστοριδι, pl. 10b, 91c.
used by the Catholic side, as well as the prominent position of the image above the main entrance which denotes the union between the two Churches.\textsuperscript{228}

The fresco of the Apostle John, as the Evangelist John, encountered in the church of the Metamorphosis (Fig. 231) is associated with the frontal figure of John the Baptist with wings, analysed earlier under the subtitle ‘Iconography of the Templon’ drawn next to one of the two entrances to the nave.\textsuperscript{229} The Apostle occupies the opposite surface and the inscription states ‘Ἡ Ἀποκάλυψις του Αγίου Ιωάννου του Θεολόγου’.\textsuperscript{230} His depiction as a writer seating on a rocky background with his pen and scroll is found in Pantanassa of Mistras (1428).\textsuperscript{231} Although the inscription states clearly that he is depicted while writing the Apocalypse, he is represented as a young man rather than an old man. Traditionally in Byzantine iconography he is represented young only in the scenes related to Christ’s life, while as an Evangelist he is always depicted at a later age.\textsuperscript{232} Furthermore, there is an interesting, allegorical relationship between these two figures on the blind arches of the nave. Aghios Ioannis Prodromos, the Forerunner, is the one who showed the way and Aghios Ioannis Theologos is the one who predicted the end.

The final fresco which includes the four Apostles in their role of Evangelists is found in Aghios Ioannis Prodromos, on the wall of the entrance (Fig. 232). It is partially destroyed, but the inscriptions help the identification process. The artist tried to include all the figures in the available space and the result was four unnatural, elongated bodies.

\textsuperscript{228} Pallas, \textit{Die Passion}, p. 280.
\textsuperscript{229} Even if Saint John the Baptist was part of the templon iconography, the image would have been excluded from the analysis as the templon is a much later addition.
\textsuperscript{230} ‘The Revelation of Saint John Theologos’.
\textsuperscript{231} Aspra-Vardavaki, \textit{Παντάνασσα}, p. 163.
Saintly Figures

Saintly figures complete the analysis of surviving iconographic programmes in Paliochora. Traditionally, in the Middle Byzantine period their placement was restricted to the lowest, third zone of frescoes and their physiognomies represented a schematic composition.\(^{233}\) Nevertheless, the size of the churches aided the creation of a mixture of scenes where the saints stand equally beside important scenes from Christ’s life. The task of the Byzantine artist was to present the saint in a manner not to doubt his identity. The simple motif of motionless frontal depictions was popular since the beginning of Christian art and the four elements which helped in the identification were the inscriptions, the physiognomy, the attributes, and the attire.\(^{234}\)

The total number of recognised saintly figures, depicted on the walls of the eighteen churches which possess examples of Late and Post Byzantine frescoes, is thirty-one. This group of saintly figures includes representations of six female and twenty-five male saints, but the frequency with which they appear varies, according to local preferences. The saints who are depicted frequently are Aghios Georgios and Aghia Paraskeve, with six and four depictions respectively. Three frescoes are dedicated to Aghioi Anargyroi. Apart from Aghia Kyriaki, Aghios Demetrios, Aghios Savvas, and Aghioi Theodoroi, who are depicted in two frescoes, all the other saints are encountered once. The types of frescoes offer a selection of frontal and three-quarters figures or bust depictions inside medallions. Furthermore, saintly images correspond to different types according to their vitaes. Male figures are classified under military saints, monastic saints, martyrs and doctors while female figures are divided as nuns or royal figures. As was referred earlier, female figures can also be included in


monastic or doctor saints, but in the case of Paliochora, their number is so restricted, that a separate examination of female figures was preferred. This choice is made in order to facilitate stylistic analysis of garments, posture, gestures, and attributes.

The first saint that follows is Aghios Nikolaos, as the only Hierarch depicted in a type different than the Officiating Hiearchs. The examination of the remaining saintly figures follows their division in the above categories. In each category that follows, the saints are presented according to the Orthodox calendar.

- **Aghios Nikolaos**

Aghios Nikolaos is a saint-hierarch strongly worshipped in Paliochora, and generally on all Greek islands, as the patron and protector of sailors. This statement is proven by the dedication of two churches. The type of enthroned Aghios Nikolaos appeared for the first time in Aghios Nikolaos at Kastoria, in the twelfth century. During the Palaeologian period the type was used sporadically, but later in the Post Byzantine era the number of frescoes multiplied.\(^{235}\) The frescoes in Aghios Ioannis Prodromos and Aghios Nikolaos the North have been renovated unsuccessfully by a contemporary artist. The only original frame remaining is the one in the Church of the Metamorphosis dated to the seventeenth century (Fig. 233). Probably, if all iconographic programmes survived intact this number would have been even higher. His facial characteristics have been established since the eleventh century. He is represented as an elderly figure characterized by intense cheekbones and broad forehead, accumulating the gesture of blessing.\(^{236}\) Differences on this frontal, enthroned type can be identified

\(^{235}\) Aghios Nikolaos is one of the most important patron saints in Kastoria with ten churches dedicated to him and numerous frescoes on their walls, Paisidou, pp. 193-195, Constandindi, p. 217.

\(^{236}\) Constantinidi, *Elasson*, pp. 89, 91, 222.
mainly in the design of the throne. For example, in the Church of the Metamorphosis the saint seats on a narrow golden, carved throne, while in Aghios Nikolaos Theologinas at Kastoria (1663), the size of the throne is doubled.\textsuperscript{237}

- **Military saints**

The first broad category of saints is the military saints. Relevant literature, except for Christopher Walter’s monograph on warrior saints, is usually associated with the analysis of the iconographic programme of certain churches or areas, such as the current study.\textsuperscript{238} According to his research, the warrior saints began to be recognized as a caste during the tenth century.\textsuperscript{239} Speculating on the origins of warrior saints, scholars often propose that they are reincarnations of Perseus and Hercules.\textsuperscript{240} In general terms the Byzantines sought strength in the military saints in order to provide them with courage to compete with the difficulties of life.\textsuperscript{241} The basic difference in iconography with the following category, the monastic saints, is that the military saints move in space, have more aggressive postures, and occasionally are presented in contraposto.\textsuperscript{242} Moreover, according to Winfield their vestments are limited to leather, chain mail or metal surcoat over a tunic, hose and boots.\textsuperscript{243} There are churches, such as Panaghia of Apostolakis at Kastoria (1605), where the whole surface of the third zone of the iconographic programme is decorated only by military saints.\textsuperscript{244} In Paliochora their depiction is limited to the Dioskouroi of Byzantine faith, Aghios Georgios and Demetrios and Aghioi Theodoroi, Tiron and Stratelates.

\textsuperscript{237} Paisidou, Καστοριά, pl. 54b.
\textsuperscript{238} Walter, Warrior, 2003.
\textsuperscript{239} Ibid., p.4.
\textsuperscript{240} Walter, Pictures, p. 414.
\textsuperscript{241} B Cassidy (ed), Iconography at the Crossroads: Papers from the Colloquium Sponsored by the Index of Christian Art, Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1993, p. 78
\textsuperscript{242} Ibid., p. 76.
\textsuperscript{243} J Winfield, Proportion and Structure of the Human Figure in Byzantine Wall Painting and Mosaic, B.A.R, Oxford, 1982, p. 48.
\textsuperscript{244} Paisidou, Καστοριά, p. 206
The cult of Aghioi Theodoroi includes many military and ascetic saints from different regions of the world. They are identified by an epithet next to their name which is usually linked to their origin. The military saints are most commonly identified as Tiron and Stratelates. In Paliochora they are found as a pair in Aghios Georgios Katholikos, placed on the side wall of the sanctuary, as it has a transverse placement and expands as a cube inside the nave area (Fig. 234). The earliest example of this pairing is found in Hosios Loukas at Fokis (eleventh century). On this occasion the two saints are identically depicted in a frontal position without any military attributes, only holding a cross with the right hand. According to the research of Paisidou at Kastoria the military saints are occasionally drawn dressed in mantles in frontal positions. Their depiction is similar to the panel in Panaghia of Apostolakis at Kastoria (1605) where they are depicted with Aghios Artemios and Nikitas. Aghios Theodoros Tiron is usually drawn with short hair adjacent to the head and pointed beard, while Stratelates with curly hair, according to the Oriental type. Therefore, in this example Aghios Theodoros Tiron is on the left and Stratelates on the right. On the examples of the Cathedral the style of hair and beard is not differentiated, but their identification is made through the inscriptions (Fig. 235-236).

The inhabitants of Paliochora had a special attachment to Aghios Georgios reinforced by the fact that his relic was held in the Martyrion of Aghios Georgios Katholikos until 1462. However, this is not an event unique in Paliochora, as his cult was extremely popular in Byzantium. Ševčenko stated that no other saint is so widely depicted in Byzantine art. The image of him killing the dragon, which is the one selected for his

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246 Paisidou, Καστορία, pp. 206-227.
247 Ibid., pl. 94c.
249 For more information, see pp. 101-102.
depiction in Paliochora, was identified first in 916.\(^{251}\) The slaying of the dragon which guards a magic plant on the heights of Mount Erciyas is part of later Anatolian mythology.\(^{252}\) After the twelfth century the narrative elements of rescuing the princess are assimilated to the type. Several regions claim his myth and associate their iconography with moments of his legendary life, as the theme of killing the dragon originates from antique triumphal figures related to their tradition.\(^{253}\) Aghios Georgios as a horseman is the symbol of grace and beauty.\(^{254}\)

There are six frescoes depicting Aghios Georgios in Paliochora in the Koimesis of the Theotokos, Aghios Georgios Katholikos, Aghios Ioannis Prodromos, Aghios Ioannis Theologos, Aghios Efthymios and Aghios Georgios, all equestrian figures at the moment of killing the dragon. However, the one in Aghios Ioannis Prodromos belongs to the category of renovated frescoes, thus it is excluded from this catalogue of Late and Post Byzantine images. Apart from the fresco in the Koimesis of the Theotokos, the rest survive in a good condition only with minor parts white-washed (Fig. 237). In all five frescoes the local artists follow the description provided by Dionysios of Fourn, ‘a young man, beardless’.\(^{255}\) The placement alters between the south to the north blind arches and consequently his direction changes, turned to face the altar each time (Fig. 238). The only exception is found in Aghios Efthymios, where the the horse moves towards the West away from the altar, but the saint turns his head towards the opposite direction. Another characteristic feature which exists only in Aghios Efthymios and Aghios Ioannis Theologos is the hand of God in the upper corner (Fig. 239-240); a symbolic addition underlining the divine power which guides the way of the saint.

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\(^{251}\) Paisidou, Κατάρτι, p. 223.
\(^{253}\) Walter, Warrior, p. 36.
\(^{254}\) Tradigo, Icons, p. 276.
\(^{255}\) Dionysios of Fourn, Painter’s Manual, p. 56.
Another element important in these types of frescoes is the horse. Except for Aghios Efthymios, the horse is depicted in white. However it is not depicted realistically according to natural proportions; it has a thick neck and comparatively small head. Similarly, the saint’s body is drawn disharmoniously, with thick thighs and short torso (Fig. 241). An unsuccessful depiction of horse was also observed by Paisidou in all the churches of Kastoria. The artistic attempt to add movement to the scene can only be observed in the mantle which waves back. The dragon in the lower corner is almost destroyed in all cases. Only some contours are visible, revealing its curved shape and open mouth towards the saint. The background of the scene in sixteenth and seventeenth century examples usually includes the figure of the princess on a tower drawn in reversed perspective, as seen in the Church of Sozomenos at Galata on Crete (1513), where the princess participates and has tied the dragon, or in Aghios Nikolaos of Aghioi Anargyroi at Kastoria (seventeenth century). Instead the format of the fresco follows simpler motif found in earlier provincial examples on Cyprus, in the Church of the Saviour in Paleochorio (c. 1466).

According to Walter, Aghios Demetrios was predominantly represented as a martyr with extensive cycles, while the scene on horseback became typical on façades accompanied by Aghios Georgios or Merkourios later in the end of the fourteenth century. His cycles are famous in the Balkans in churches of the thirteenth or the fourteenth century such Davidovica Church (1281-90) and the Cathedral of Peć in Serbia (1345), and Markov Monastery (1376-81) at Skopje.
In Paliochora, Aghios Demetrios is commemorated in two frescoes only in his military persona, always in association with Aghios Georgios, both from the seventeenth century. The two military saints are frequently depicted together from the twelfth century onwards. The first example is painted in Aghios Georgios Katholikos, opposite Aghios Georgios, on the east wall of the nave (Fig. 242). He is presented as a young man with short brown hair, seen in all cases of the seventeenth century at Kastoria and Cyprus. If there was no inscription, it would have been difficult to identify who is Aghios Georgios or Aghios Demetrios. Indeed Walter comments that he is not distinguished from other warrior saints, unless he holds his attributes, a bow and a quiver. A similar pair of frescoes is found in Panaghia Aphendrika and the Saviour on Cyprus (thirteenth century). The second fresco lies again next to Aghios Georgios in the nave of Zoodochos Pege, but only the head and the diagonally placed spear have survived (Fig. 243).

- **Monastic Saints**

The category of monastic or ascetic saints is denoted usually by frontal, static figures. They are crowned with a nimbus, wear dark habits or robes and hold particular attributes related to their physiognomy, such as crosses or inscribed scrolls. The monastic saints have less bodily presence than the soldiers, make constrained movements or even have a stiff, column-like, pose, characterised by repetitive and shallow gestures. Their frequent presence, especially in monasteries is related to the salvation of humanity.

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265 Cassidy, *Crossroads*, p. 76.
long. However, the surviving examples of Paliochora are restricted to eight figures; Aghios Antonios, Aghios Savvas, Aghios Stylianos, Aghios Alexios, Aghios Ioannis Kalyvites, Aghios Efthymios, and Moses from Ethiopia.

Aghios Ioannis Kalyvites, on the internal surface of the west blind arch of the Cathedral, is a beardless young man holding a closed Gospel (Fig. 244). Although Mouriki insists that attention must be paid by the artist on his round face (Nea Moni Chios eleventh century), the artist of the Cathedral employed a more oval face. 

Aghios Antonios, the father of monastic way of life, was a prominent exponent of the ancient ascetic tradition in Egypt. In Paliochora there are two frescoes in Aghios Nikolaos the North and the Cathedral (Fig. 245). _Hermeneia_ describes an old, bearded monk, wearing a cowl and a cloak, generally in grayish and brown tones. In Aghios Nikolaos of Kiritzi at Kastoria (1654) he holds a crutch. In addition, Mouriki comments that his early attribute, the cross, was gradually substituted by a scroll to stress his identity as the father of monasticism. This change is observed in the Cathedral. In Aghios Nikolaos his hands imitate the movement of holding a scroll, but the scroll is absent. The latter fresco follows the general style of the iconographic programme in which the artist chose to use grayish hues for the painting of flesh and is dated to the fourteenth century, similar to the colour palette in Aghia Anna at Anisaraki (1457-62), Crete (Fig. 246).

Aghios Alexios, next to Aghios Ioannis Kalyvites, is described with brown, messy hair and brown beard (Fig. 247). In the two depictions found in Kastoria (Panaghia Aghion Anargyron/1634, Panaghia of Apostolakis/1605) he resembles the figure of

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267 Mouriki, _Nea Moni_, pp. 161-162.
269 Paisidou, _Koτοpιδ_, pl. 90b.
270 Mouriki, _Nea Moni_, p. 160.
Saint John the Baptist holding a cross, far from the image in the Cathedral of Paliochora, where no beard is detected and his palms are turned open to the viewer.\textsuperscript{272} Aghios Efthymios on the same surface is one of the long-lived fathers of ascetism in the East. His portraits exist in monumental painting of the Middle Byzantine period, such as the church of the Hermitage of Aghios Neophytos at Asinou on Cyprus (twelfth century).\textsuperscript{273} Unfortunately, the identification of his facial features and attributes is not currently possible due to destruction of the fresco.\textsuperscript{274} The appearance of Moses the Ethiopian, an ascetic monk of the fourth century on the north wall of Zoodochos Pege (Fig. 248), completes the lines of saintly figures presented next to the scenes of martyrdom. His depiction is traditionally associated with regions of the Middle East and examples can be found in Saint Mary and Saint Antony’s Coptic Monastery in Egypt (twelfth century).\textsuperscript{275}

Aghios Savvas is supposed to be the great founder of the famous Great Lavra outside Jerusalem in 478 (Fig. 249).\textsuperscript{276} His iconography was standardized since the eleventh century (Pammakaristos Church in Constantinople).\textsuperscript{277} In Aghia Kyriaki he is depicted on the curved surface of an arch, along with Aghios Efthymios and Aghios Alexios. His depiction as an old man with long two-edged beard is the common one, found in Panaghia of Apostolakis at Kastoria (1605).\textsuperscript{278}

The monastic saints generally follow typical depictions found on relevant Late and Post Byzantine examples in Greece, with the addition of the personal taste of the artist which created a regional character in iconography of the period.

\textsuperscript{272} Paisidou, Καστοριά, pl. 49a, 101b.
\textsuperscript{273} Mouriki, Νεα Μονή, p. 166-167.
\textsuperscript{274} The existence of the fresco was recorded through Pokopiou’s photographs.
\textsuperscript{275} G Gabra, Coptic Monasteries: Egypt’s Monastic Art and Architecture, American University in Cairo Press, Cairo, 2002, 35-38.
\textsuperscript{276} Belting, Pammakaristos, p. 63.
\textsuperscript{277} Aspra-Vardavaki, Πανάνασσα, p. 196.
\textsuperscript{278} Pelekanidis, Καστοριά I-Βυζαντινοί Τοιχογραφίες: Πίνακες, Thessaloniki, 1953, pl. 241b, Paisidou, p. 101a.
• **Doctor Saints**

This category includes only three figures; Aghioi Cosmas and Damianos and Aghios Panteleimon. Their iconography is based on sixth-century Syrian tradition, emphasising their healing powers, showing them always carrying medical instruments or boxes full of medicine (mosaic in Basilica Euphrasiana in Poreč/553, Saints Cosmas and Damian Church in Rome/530) and was standardized during the thirteenth century.279 Aghioi Cosmas and Damianos are accepted both by the Catholic and the Orthodox rite. Dionysios of Fourna suggests three types of depiction according to origin: ‘Cosmas and Damian from Rome, young men with pointed beards’, ‘those from Asia, young men with incipient beards’, and ‘those from Arabia, black men with long beard divided into two points’.280 The Catholic description, on the other hand, presents them as beardless medieval laymen.281 Constantinidi identified them in Panaghia Olympiotissa at Elasson (c.1295) with light beards and moustaches.282

There are two frescoes of the Aghioi Anargyroi; in Aghioi Theodoroi and Aghios Georgios (Fig. 250). In both depictions, the two saints are drawn according to the Asian prototype. In Aghios Georgios the figures are depicted frontally on the south wall inside one frame, while in Aghioi Theodoroi they are isolated three-quarters figures on the curved parts of arches. The frontal depiction is found in Eisodia of Tsiapatas (1613) and Aghios Nikolaos Theologinas (1663) at Kastoria.283 The second type of surface is very narrow and dilutes their figures (Fig. 251-252). The exact same position was chosen in Panaghia of Arakos (1192) and the Church of the Holy Cross of Agiasmati on

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283 Paisidou, *Kástropí*, pl. 98b, 103b.
Cyprus (fifteenth century). The result is disproportional with short bodies and supernatural heads. Aghios Cosmas also appears alone in the church of the Cathedral in the usual depiction, but probably Aghios Damianos’ fresco is destroyed (Fig. 253).

Aghios Panteleimon is believed to be their teacher who was martyred in 305. He shares an arch next to them in Aghioi Theodoroi and Aghia Kyriaki and he is depicted as young, beardless with curly hair, holding a box of medicines (Fig. 254-255). His model has been crystallised since the eleventh century and until the seventeenth century appears in various regions with the same features.

- Martyrs

This category of saints traditionally includes martyrs as sole frontal or three-quarters figures. The catalogue in Orthodox tradition is long. Apart from the series of martyrdoms in the nave of Zoodochos Pege, they are found in the walls of the Cathedral, according to Pennas. However, the figures of martyrs belong to the destroyed or unidentifiable part of frescoes. This observation stresses once more the need for conservation practices regarding the iconographic programmes of the churches in Paliochora.

One of the most recognised frescoes in Paliochora belongs to the category of martyrs. It is a fresco in Aghios Nikolaos the North depicting four young martyrs on the arch opposite to the main entrance (Fig. 256). Prokopiou associated their existence in this

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284 Stylianou, Painted Churches, pp. 93, 99.
285 Hadermann-Misguish, Kurbinovo, fig. 126, A Tsitouridou, Ο Ζωγραφικός Διάκοσμος του Αγίου Νικολάου Ορφανού στη Θεσσαλονίκη: Συμβολή στη Μελέτη της Παλαιολογικής Ζωγραφικής κατά τον Πρώτο 14ο Αιώνα, Thessaloniki, 1986, tab. 95, Paisidou, Καστοριά, pp. 239, 245, Grabar, Bulgarie, tab. LIX.
286 Pennas, Αλύνα, pp. 56-57.
prominent position with the function of the church as Martyrion. However, there is no inscription to identify their names or to link them with the actual commemoration of the church. Their depiction is identical, except for the existence of beard or not, both in matters of vestments and attributes and cannot aid in their identification.

- **Female saints**

The depiction of female saints was extremely popular in Northern Greece during the Late Byzantine period. Traditionally their depiction is found on the narthex or west wall, but as Paisidou observed in the small churches of Kastoria, that is not always the canon in small provincial examples. Female saints are regularly depicted as nuns, royal personages or doctors. In Paliochora there are six female saints incorporated into the iconographic schemes; three monastic figures and three with royal origins. The nuns follow the type known from Cappadocian churches, holding a cross and wearing a robe and a dark *maphorion*. On the other hand, royal saints wear rich vestments decorated with valuable stones and a crown.

The first monastic, female saint according to the calendar appears on the wall of the nave of Zoodochos Pege. The figure of Aghia Filothei is in an extremely poor condition and only her head can be distinguished (Fig. 257). The position is prominent as she stands next to the Anapeson scene and the Apostles Paul and Peter who hold the model of the church. Aghia Filothei is the only female saintly figure in this particular nave. Aghia Filothei died in 1589 and taking into consideration the time needed for a canonization, it is certain that the fresco belongs to the seventeenth century.

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287 Prokopiou, Εστίες, p. 184.
288 Paisidou, Καστοριά, p. 247.
289 ibid.
There are two frescoes of Aghia Eleni, mother of Constantine the Great, in the church of Aghios Efthymios and the Cathedral (Fig. 258). They appear together in their traditional depiction holding the cross, producing a symbol of sovereignty. Their depiction became part of iconographic programmes since the Middle Byzantine period with examples in Hosios Loukas at Fokis (eleventh century), Saint George at Kurbinovo (1192), and Aghioi Anargyroi at Kastoria (twelfth century). It also appeared in small provincial churches such as in Theotokos Phorviotissa (1105). Later their figures became more frequent and for example in Kastoria they appear in five frescoes often on the west wall close to Aghia Paraskeve and Kyriaki. Aghia Eleni realistically has to be an old woman, but she is idealized and represented young, both in Orthodox and Catholic iconography, almost looking the same age as her son. In the Cathedral they are depicted below the Apostles Peter and Paul, while in Aghios Efthymios they share the same blind arch with Aghios Georgios (Fig. 259). The traditional scene depicts two frontal figures, Aghios Constantinos on the right of the Cross, dressed in royal vestments, supporting a massive cross. What is differentiated every time is the way they hold the cross. For example in Aghios Nikolaos Thomanou, Aghia Eleni raises her left hand and Aghios Constantinos supports the cross from the front. This is not observed in Aghios Efthymios where both figures support the cross equally from the back, as in the Archangel Michael at Pedoulas on Cyprus (1474). The fresco in the Cathedral is destroyed and does not allow observation of such details. Occasionally they can be drawn as three-quarter figures turning towards the cross, as in Aghios Nikolaos Kyritzi at Kastoria (1654).

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290 Aghia Eleni and Aghios Constantinos are characterised as Isapostoloi or the Just.
293 Hein, Cyprus, p. 56.
295 There is an example at the Church of Chrusaphitissa at Lakonia (1290) where Aghios Constantinos is placed on the left side of the Cross, Constantinidi, Elasson, p. 230.
297 Stylianou, Painted Churches, p. 121.
298 Paisidou, Kastoriá, p. 204.
Aghia Kyriaki is found once in the templon of the homonym church next to the Virgin Enthroned and in the Cathedral (Fig. 260-261). Even if there was no inscription, the open hexagonal crown over a white, embroithered cloth would have revealed her identity.299

Aghia Marina is depicted as a sole figure in the nave of Aghia Kyriaki (Fig. 262) in a bust image on one of the arches which unite the two naves of the twin basilicas, next to numerous male saints. There are two female saints with the name Marina: the Early Christian Virgin who martyred at Antioch in 305 and the fifth century one from Syria, who died peacefully. The latter is not depicted frequently, thus it is more probable that this fresco depicts the martyr.300 A customary type adopted since the twelfth century is her fight with Satan.301 However, a full figure representation is absent in Paliochora while in Kastoria this type is common (Aghios Demetrios Eleousas/1608, Panaaghia of Aghioi Anargyroi/1634, Panaghia of Mouzevikis/1654).302

Aghia Paraskeve is depicted four times in the churches of Paliochora. Her name has double connotations associated with both the day of the week, Good Friday and the Passion of Christ and preparation for Resurrection.303 Aghia Paraskeve became the symbol of Christ’s Martyrdom and was associated with the poor.304 Papageorgiou presents the visualisation of this concept on a type found on a Cypriot panel, where Aghis Paraskeve holds an image of the Man of Sorrows.305 She also appeared once with a lance, sponge and reed on fol. 285 of the Paris Homilies of Gregory Nanzianzinus.306

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299 Constantinidi, Elasson, p. 243.
302 Paisidou, Καστοριά, pp. 248, 249, 252.
303 Aghia Paraskeve means preparation in Greek. Walter, p. 383.
304 Paisidou, Καστοριά, p. 248.
On the other side, there is a theory which claims that she never existed as a monastic saint, but she was invented in order to personify the divine pathos and her image functions only as a symbol.\textsuperscript{307} Walter continues saying that there were many saints with that name, while Ouspensky supports that she was a native from Asia Minor who was martyred during Diocletian’s persecutions.\textsuperscript{308}

Her image was widely spread in Cyprus in the period of Venetian dominion (Holy Cross at Agiasmati/fifteenth century, Panaghia Theotokos and Church of Sozomenos at Galatas/sixteenth century).\textsuperscript{309} In her accustomed depiction she is presented frontally, wearing a \textit{maphorion} above her nun’s robe, holding a cross.\textsuperscript{310} Her deep red \textit{maphorion} becomes her trademark; a symbol of her martyrdom. Her figure and expression have many similarities to the type of Virgin on the templon. There is the same severity of expression shown by thin, closed lips and immobility. Aghia Paraskeve as a full figure survives only in Aghios Ioannis Theologos Aghios Nikolaos the North, and Aghios Dionysios (Figs. 263-264-265). The fresco in Aghios Ioannis Prodromos has been partially destroyed. The image in Aghios Nikolaos the North is especially stylistically similar to the Virgin Orans at the conch of the apse. The artist copied the figure of the Virgin, in the same colour palette and same vestments, adjusting to it the frontal posture of Aghia Paraskeve holding the cross. The placement of her frescoes is diverse, as she appears on the south, west and east wall of the churches.

Aghia Paraskeve, Aghia Kyriaki, and Aghia Marina are frequently drawn together in Late Byzantine iconography or in pairs with the omission of Aghia Kyriaki or Aghia

\textsuperscript{307} Walter, \textit{Pictures}, p. 385.
\textsuperscript{308} Ouspensky, \textit{Theology}, p. 138.
\textsuperscript{310} Walter, ‘Portrait’, pp. 753-757.
Marina (Fig. 266).\textsuperscript{311} In Paliochora there is a fresco of the second type with Aghia Kyriaki in Aghios Ioannis Prodromos, similar to one found on the west wall of Aghios Mamas at Louvaras on Cyprus (1465-95).\textsuperscript{312} The figures are identified by their vestments and inscriptions. The popularity of these two saints in Greece and generally the Balkans is based on the translation of their names in two of the important days of the week; Friday and Sunday and usually they should be presented in that order.\textsuperscript{313} However, both in Paliochora and Kastoria Aghia Paraskeve is placed to the left. The placement on the west wall is also observed in Aghios Ioannis Theologos with the fresco of Aghia Paraskeve and Aghia Anastasia \textit{Farmakolutria} in the Cathedral (Fig. 267).\textsuperscript{314} Aghia Anastasia is the only female saint from the category of doctor saints who are presented with relevant attributes; in this case a vase carrying water.

\textbf{Conclusion}

The second part of this thesis is the first complete attempt to catalogue and analyse at a primary stage all the remaining frescoes of the Late and Post Byzantine churches in Paliochora (Tabs. 5-10). The condition of the frescoes became a hurdle in many cases where an immediate intervention of restorers is required; first for preservation reasons and second to examine all the existing layers of paint (Figs. 270-300). The remaining iconographic schemes of the naves in Paliochora have a diverse character, trying to balance the standard iconographic programmes of the Late Byzantine period and demonstrate the individuality and artistic freedom linked to the evolution of Post Byzantine ecclesiastical painting. Innovative choices in subject matter or alterations in their positions occur unintentionally, simply forced by the architectural particularities of

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{311} Paisidou, \textit{Καστοριά\textsuperscript{\v{z}}}}, p. 251, pl. 89a, Stylianou, \textit{Painted Churches}, p. 48.
\textsuperscript{312} Hein, \textit{Cyprus}, p. 84.
\textsuperscript{313} Paisidou, \textit{Καστοριά\textsuperscript{\v{z}}}}, p. 248.
\textsuperscript{314} \textit{Farmakolutria} means she who delivers from medicine.
\end{footnotesize}
the churches. The clear fact is that the accustomed repertoire consisting of three hierarchical zones of iconography with pre-determined themes and positions is not encountered in any church. The depiction of frescoes follows a horizontal juxtaposition, occasionally failing to follow the correct order of narrative, starting from the vault and finishing on the side walls. The frescoes incorporate a smaller scale and are presented as small, individual frames, a pattern well observed in the frescoes of Kastoria (seventeenth century), Cyprus, and Crete (fourteenth to sixteenth centuries).\footnote{Paisidou, Καστοριά, p. 265-266, 275, Hein, Cyprus, pp. 61-65, 77-87, 103-106, Kalokyris, Wall Paintings, pp. 23-28.}

The Pantokrator image appears only in one of the three domes, but also in the nave of Zoodochos Pege, occupying the highest point of the vault. Moreover, the sequence of figures surrounding the Pantokrator, such as the prophets, the evangelists and the archangels is disrupted and placed sporadically in other parts of the nave. Yet the most important diversification is the mixture of themes from the former second and third zones of iconography. Apart from the churches with complete iconographic programmes, where the vault and lower parts of the walls are used, in the remaining eighteen churches which possess fragments of frescoes, the themes are painted on the semi-circular surface of the blind arches, the triangular surface of their intersection or on the west wall. Consequently, the iconographic programmes provide a mixture of scenes from the New Testament and figurative representations, equally distributed over the available space. The dodekaorton or other scenes from Christ’s life are interrupted by saintly figures which acquire similar importance and dimensions. In the major churches of the peninsula, such as the Cathedral and the Monastery of Aghia Kyriaki, where one would expect a more conscientious approach, such as the Pantanassa Monastery at Mistras (1428) which follows the iconographic system of the Middle Byzantine period, the iconographic programmes are not properly organised and
their narrative order is disturbed. Nevertheless, disruptions of hierarchy is one of the major features of the Late and especially Post Byzantine period and in that sense the churches of Paliochora follow the new norm and do not constitute an exception.

The general overview and analysis of each type of fresco individually revealed a paradox. Many frescoes included in churches constructed in the thirteenth and fourteenth century do not present and image related to the iconography of Late Byzantine period. Their patterns and style are influenced by the changes observed during the Post Byzantine period. In short, the creation of the iconographic programmes in the earlier periods does not coincide with the exact time of the construction of the church, so their dating becomes an obstacle. The iconographic programme of two cases which contain adequate number of surviving frescoes were dated in a later period than their construction. Elements on the scenes of the dodekaorton place the frescoes of the Koimesis of the Theotokos (thirteenth century) to the fourteenth century, while according to the sanctuary examples and the saintly figures, Aghios Georgios Katholikos (fourteenth century) was painted or definitely restored during the second Venetian dominion in the seventeenth century. On the contrary the example of the Church of the Metamorphosis (seventeenth century), which contains a relatively large number of frescoes, returns to the Palaeologian prototypes. Furthermore, the major churches with specific roles (the Cathedral, the two Martyria, and the social centre of Aghios Ioannis Theologos) of the fourteenth century have been part of former restoration programmes, unfortunately with unsuccessful results in matters of fresco preservation. Therefore, many of the frescoes of that period do not reflect the original Late Byzantine style, but only a bad imitation; a problematic issue for the completion of this study.
The frescoes can be easily divided into thematic groups, but cannot be categorised easily in construction periods equivalent to the ones used in the architectural part. The drawbacks identified are: first, the creation of the iconographic programme is not necessarily contemporary to the erection of the building and second, the entire number of frescoes is not completed simultaneously by the same artist. Consequently, even if there is an inscription on one fresco it cannot be used to date all the frescoes on the walls of that church. In some cases, especially when events are depicted, the organisation of figures and the presence or absence of auxiliary objects is identified as practice of a specific century, but in other cases counter-influence complicates the result. Therefore, an immediate archaeological research is required on matters of iconography and analysis of paint layers.

Last but not least, the destruction of the frescoes did not allow the re-creation of all plans with complete explanations of the missing parts in the iconographic programme. Taking into consideration the anomaly in the placement and chronological disruption observed in the churches with complete iconographic programmes, it is impossible to suggest possible themes for the destroyed parts. The only occasion where such an attempt is made is in the Koimesis of the Theotokos which possesses the richest preservation of scenes from the dodekaorton. The relevant plan is part of the appendix, but still the absence of primary sources leaves room for further discussion (Fig. 204).

The total number of surviving frescoes in the naves of the thirty-four Late and Post Byzantines churches reaches almost two hundred. This thesis offers the first complete cataloguing and analysis of all frescoes under thematic groups, a discourse of the evolution of each type. This research and its appendix that was created through
fieldwork will be the primary source for any further academic projects related to the iconographic identity of the peninsula.
CONCLUSION

Greek literature contains a number of articles and one monograph devoted to the Late and Post Byzantine city of Paliochora on Aegina. The main volume of interest was expressed during the 1960s and continued with sporadic effulgence in the contemporary era. However, several articles of local scope, which have existed since the early decades of the twentieth century, they are neither correctly referenced nor properly catalogued. The lack of primary sources comes to enlarge this problem. The purpose of this work was to produce a synthesis of the available information and enhance existing literature on Paliochora based on interdisciplinary studies. Up to now the image was compiled by researchers receiving different impressions from different sources. The archaeologists have only focused on restoration projects and inscriptions, the architects have never associated the edifice with the general urban fabric, its internal decoration or the influence of the continuous alterations in administration, and art historians have never analysed the frescoes within the wider spectrum of Late and Post Byzantine iconography. Inside the frame of this thesis only some of these relationships could be explored, leaving room for future research, always following an interdisciplinary approach.

The first part of the thesis presented a new periodisation system for the churches according to the conquerors on the island. The thirty-four Late and Post Byzantine churches of Paliochora were divided into four construction periods. The new maps (Figs. 7-10) demonstrated the gradual development of the urban fabric from the period of the French dukes (1204-1313) to the second Venetian dominion (1654-1715). It was proven that initially the locals were restricted in the lower parts of the hill, in close proximity to the valley of Messagros, and only during the Catalan period (1313-1451), they inhabited the core of the city and established a commercial and religious centre. Gradually, during the Venetian conquests, the
churches started to appear on higher parts of the hill, until the construction of the twin basilica of Aghios Demetrios and Georgios inside the perimeter of the castle. However, although the urban structure and the increased numbers of churches shows that over the centuries the relationships between the conquerors and the locals ameliorated, the analysis of the individual architectural specificities proved that the architectural result during the first two construction periods was more elaborate, with the addition of courtyards, belfries, and sculpted decoration. The simplification of ecclesiastical architecture during the Venetian period was explained by the loss of religious authority with the transference of the Bishop in Nafplion, the end of pilgrimage after the transference of Aghios Georgios’ relic in Venice, and the double destruction of the city in 1502 and 1537. The status of the city changed and consequently ecclesiastical construction was limited to small parish churches.

On the contrary, the choice of church plan was associated to function and not the change of conquerors. Alternative functions, except for the ordinary parish churches, were associated with the basilicas with a transverse sanctuary and double churches. Research of the type across Byzantine architecture showed an immediate connection to the martyria, a theory supported by the existence of the holy relic and the available iconography of the churches. The study of double churches, disagreed partially with Moutsopoulos’ theory which had classified all five cases as places for common worship between the Latins and the Orthodox. The churches were divided into two categories; the twin basilicas which indeed served both rites and the double churches, where the second nave was probably used as a baptistery or a burial monument for the donors of the church.

The second part of the thesis is the first complete attempt to categorise and examine thematically and stylistically the evolution of iconography in Paliochora. Conclusions in iconography cannot be as firm as in the architectural part due to the destruction of a great deal of frescoes. However, the remaining material is
adequate to indicate tendencies and preferences both in subject matter, their placement, and their stylistic approach.

The examination of the sanctuaries showed a tendency to depict subjects from the Eucharistic cycles. The Virgin Orans or the Mother of God, the Officiating Bishops, the Aghion Mandylion, and the Man of Sorrows are present in all the sanctuaries with surviving frescoes. The sanctuary of the Cathedral creates an exception and presents an iconography programme related to the one found on domes of the Middle Byzantine period. This result is explained due to its original position in the church, before becoming the sanctuary after the restoration in 1610. Furthermore, the naves of Paliochora offer a variety of scenes from the Old Testament, the dodekaorton, Christ’s passion, the post-Ressurection period, the Akathist Hymn, and several martyrdoms, completed by the usual saintly, figural representations.

The surviving frescoes were created during the Late and Post Byzantine period. In the majority of cases their creation was not contemporary to the construction date of the church. The current study offers a primary dating based on the few available inscriptions, which firmly state the year of completion of the iconographic programme, but mainly on examination of patterns, style, and placement of figures on each fresco. The iconography of Paliochora does not present a homogenous result and cannot be classified exclusively under Late or Post Byzantine painting. The element of personal choices of the artists created an amalgam of old and new traditions, disrupted the traditional order, and created a diverse example. Whilst architectural production can be easily divided into categories according to chronological and typological affiliations, iconography creates problems to the researcher in that sense, because the internal decoration of one church was not completed in one period, the patrons were various, as well as the artists. This creates an amalgamation of practices under the roof of one church. This thematic
approach provides the first attempt to solve the puzzle of the iconographic identity of Paliochora and use the material for further research.

**Legal framework and actions**

The Greek legal framework refers twice to the medieval city of Paliochora. The first decree declared the current settlement and others in the Cyclades as ‘preserved historical monuments’ in 1936. The second in 1984 was restricted only to the island of Aegina and recognised Paliochora, the valley of Messagros, and the temple of Aphaia Athena as areas of exquisite natural beauty.¹ Twenty-six years have passed since the state last showed interest in Paliochora. Until 1993, when the *Elliniki Etaireia* decided to commence restoration projects on the hill, every action has been either volunteered or privately funded.

Furthermore, Irene Klimopoulou quotes the existence of international legislation which promulgates not only the architectural and aesthetic value of an archaeological site, but also its educational and social role and the Greek laws which govern any attempt to intervene in a protected site.² The legal framework exists and there is a need to apply it to the settlement of Paliochora in order to gain its proper position in the cultural heritage of Greece, before it is too late to undertake any action.

Often while research is in progress, political situations can capsize the flow of things. The fieldwork and research on the subject of Paliochora began in 2007 when the Second Department of Antiquities in collaboration with *Elliniki Etaireia* had already completed the restoration of five churches and were about to continue with

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¹ Both legislations exist in the *Journal of the Greek Government*, ΦΕΚ. του 1936 (332/A/6-8-1936) και ΦΕΚ. του 1984 (42/B/27-1-1984).
two more. The turbulent political situation and the continuous alterations in the Greek government ended all actions. During the following three years when research was developing no restoration process has begun on the hill of Paliochora. The aftermath of the economic crisis and the latest financial status of Greece under the observation of the International Monetary Fund put a break to all types of research and no funds are given towards the protection of cultural heritage. On the other hand, there is reluctance to accept external funds and grant permission to international scholars or groups to continue research and excavations in the area. All archaeological sites are ‘protected’ under the different Departments of Antiquities where certain people decide their future, usually according to political interests. This is mentioned here because at the time of writing this thesis several issues for further research accrued and will be mentioned below, but there is no certainty that their accomplishment will be feasible in the near future.

**Issues for further research**

Many times throughout this study a footnote underlined that inclusion of certain details is ‘outside of the parameters of this thesis’. During the procedure of writing several related subjects had to remain in the sidelines, because of the initial parameters and the limited amount of words allowed. In light of that, there are many subjects springing out from the current study which could work as a starting point for further academic research. Issues for further research can be divided into two categories: subjects linked to the case study of Paliochora and the island of Aegina, and subjects associated with matters of provincial Late and Post Byzantine architecture and iconography in general.

As far as the medieval city of Paliochora is concerned, suggestions for future studies involve archaeological, historical, architectural, art historical and theological matters. There is need for further archaeological research, based on new projects
of excavation and conservation, on the remains of Paliochora focused both on the churches and elements from the urban fabric as there is still much information under the ruins of the city. According to sources many rituals were performed in the area of the castle, but nothing has ever been confirmed by archaeological evidence. In relation to this, up to now the fortress of the city has not been re-established; neither its shape nor its firm boundaries. Finally, there is no evidence regarding the cemetery of the city. Historians should investigate thoroughly the evidence which exists in the Catalan and Venetian archives regarding conquerors and patrons which will reveal a whole new sociological analysis for the settlement. Furthermore, the findings of this thesis could be employed for a more general architectural and iconographic survey which will incorporate all Byzantine churches of the island. Up to this point Paliochora has been regarded as an isolated case on the island, whereas there are several Byzantine monuments, dated to the same or earlier periods, scattered around the island. The theme of the Akathist Hymn could provide material for thorough analysis and comparison to the monuments of Post Byzantine period which host this particular theme. In addition, the majority of frescoes were produced during the Venetian dominion. Therefore, a close examination of the Italian iconography, focusing on Venetian examples, would bring forward matters of stylistic influence. Finally, theologians could produce a comprehensive vitae of saints associated with Aegina, including a close observation of the relationship of Aghios Georgios’ relic with the island and link the remaining Martyria to certain saints.

This complete architectural and iconographic study on Paliochora is part of a larger effort to record relevant provincial medieval settlements in Greece. Pertinent studies have already been conducted on Kastoria, Mistras, Aitolakarnania, Veroia

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and many other cities or islands.\(^4\) Due to the extensive amount of Greek islands there is still much work to be done in order to have a complete catalogue of these settlements around Greece. This research again should follow the wide path of interdisciplinary observation. Future research should include comparative studies on the architecture and iconography of provincial cities in the Greek peninsula and, more extensively, the Mediterranean and a comprehensive monograph on the importance of western influences in these Eastern sites of Europe. Finally, archaeologists and architects could collaborate in producing detailed studies focused on the ‘problematic’ architectural types of double churches and basilicas with a transverse sanctuary. A long-term plan which would have to include several academics from the Mediterranean region could include an aggregate corpus of all the architectural types which appeared in all provincial Late Byzantine cities and their variations.

**Final Statement**

This study is the primary attempt to approach the city of Paliochora in an interdisciplinary manner. Approaching the city from the narrow perspective of one discipline, as happened in the past with the main monograph of Moutsopoulos and the articles of Prokopiou, means that it is possible to overlook fundamental information on either part. It is the first time that Paliochora is treated as an evolving organism throughout the centuries and not based only on the contemporary, almost destroyed, image. The separation of Paliochora’s history into four construction periods and its examination under the auspices of that, brought into the surface new realisations about the role of the different conquerors and the reason why the city acquired its current form.

A main contribution of this work is the compilation of a complete catalogue of photographs of Paliochora with emphasis on the architectural and iconographic elements of the thirty-four Late and Post Byzantine churches. The pictures work and will work in future research as records for these churches as they appear from summer 2007 until summer 2010. In addition, this thesis can put a full stop to the continuous ignorance both by civilians and the state towards this archaeological site. Placing Paliochora, again, in the centre of research, will awaken the responsible national bodies in inaugurating new projects aiming at the conservation and protection of the settlement which remains in a critical state at the moment. However, it has to be mentioned that an empirical approach and visiting the monuments cannot be substituted by any form of digital or printed information. Descriptions, comparisons, photographs and plans cannot present efficiently what is called its unique provincial character and are not sufficient to present the way life evolved around these religious monuments. Any further research should engage again in fieldwork, so that the real dimensions of the problems come to the surface.

Still, there is a great deal of work to be carried out on the subject, both in practical and theoretical manners. It is hoped that this work has re-initiated an interest in the area of Paliochora, also on an international level this time, and suggested future directions to be explored.
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

List of Abbreviations

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<tr>
<td>ABME</td>
<td>Αρχείον Βυζαντινών Μνημείων της Ελλάδος</td>
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<td>AD</td>
<td>Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον</td>
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<td>Byzantinisch Neugriechische Jahrbücher</td>
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<td>Επιτρέπει Εταιρείας Βυζαντινών Σπουδών</td>
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<td>EMΠ</td>
<td>Εθνικό Μετασχηματισμό Πολυτεχνείο</td>
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<td>RbK</td>
<td>Reallexicon zur byzantinischen Kunst</td>
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This appendix is the first annotated complete database of the thirty-four Late and Post Byzantine churches in Paliochora, the medieval capital of Aegina. It includes new maps of the settlement according to the four construction periods, the plans of the churches, images of individual architectural features, and a complete catalogue of all surviving frescoes, accompanied by descriptions. The last part contains all unidentified frescoes, scenes or individual figures, which cannot be categorised due to their destruction and lack of inscriptions or primary sources.

All the designs of plans, sections, and elevations belong to the Architectural School of Athens, unless otherwise stated and are always placed according to the standard orientation. All the images regarding both the architectural features and the frescoes belong to the author, unless otherwise stated, and were produced during the fieldwork conducted in the period 2007-10.
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The sculpted decorative motif includes three large circles and four small around the central one. The central circle includes a bust and is flanked by two six-petalled flowers. The contours of the figure resemble the Virgin in Orans position, which is possible since the church commemorates the Virgin. The cross is not absent, a there are four Byzantine crosses inscribed in circles around the Virgin’s image.
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The surface above the main entrance is the most elaborate in Paliochora, stating the status of the church in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Above the rectangular lintel there is a marble pediment and the whole pattern is framed by a second rectangle. The sculpted theme includes only three shapes; a Latin cross in the middle protected by a pair of double-headed eagles. The cross seems to be placed inside another curved frame which separates it from the eagle.
The sculptured decoration serves as the lintel of the main entrance. The motif consists of a central cross of the Latin type flanked by a pair of doves and a pair of six-petalled flowers inscribed in circles. The cross and the doves are placed inside a rectangular frame, while the doves face each other.
The sculpted decoration in Archangel Michael is simple. In the middle we observe the Cross of Malta and at the right side a four-petalled flower inscribed in a circle. According to the patterns that have already been described it is most probable that there was an identical design on the other side of the cross but it has been destroyed. In addition on the sides of the relief arch there are two shapes resembling a cross but created with curved lines.
This decorative motif shows the typical Byzantine cross inscribed in a circle. The Byzantine cross has a double ending on its branches. The motif is completed by two six-petalled flowers inscribed in circles as well. The rectangular frame is divided in three parts with three vertical lines.
This motif is restricted by the width of the entrance opening. The centre is occupied by a Latin cross surrounded by six-petalled flowers inscribed in circles. There are some remains on the surface between the cross and the circles, indicating that there was another shape present. Unfortunately, in this state it cannot be recognised. However, since the variety of shapes used is very limited, it is possible that they depicted small doves.
Aghios Efthymios cannot be accessed by this side which used to be the main entrance judging by the belfry and the decorative motif above the lintel. The change in scenery has created a cliff on this side and entrance to the church is possible only by the opposite side. The motif repeats a pattern already observed in other churches with the Byzantine cross inscribed in a circle flanked by six-petalled flowers inscribed in circles as well. The central circle has a smaller diameter.
The motif of the double-headed eagle and the Byzantine cross is not encountered above the main entrance. Instead it is sculpted on the right side of the first arch of the intermediary wall which used to unite the two naves. The two images are inscribed in circles according to the tradition followed in all decorative motifs in Paliochora.
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The grey wall in the background places the scene indoors. Although the Virgin is a very short figure in order to indicate her young age, her facial characteristics remain the same as in all other iconographic types of the Mother of God. She wears the usual dark red *maphorion* and reaches her arms to the priest in a form of offering herself to the Temple. She is followed by her parents Joachim and Anna, who are presented as fairly young figures compared to the story of the Bible. They both make an almost identical gesture to the Virgin Mary. The scene is completed by a multi-figural female escort on the right. The women are dressed in long *himatia* covered by short tunics in white, blue, and pink. The drapery of all figures is accomplished by the alteration of white surfaces and straight black lines. On the upper left corner the future is depicted; Mary with the Archangel Gabriel.
Fig. 106, *Tableau above the Conch of the Diakonikon, Church of the Metamorphosis (17th century)*
The identity of this fresco is questioned as there is neither inscription nor a very clear organisation of the figures in the fresco. Its condition is poor; lime layers have damaged the colours and blurred the contours so that the figures are not clearly distinguished. In front of a mountain, guarded by two angels, Christ and one Apostle stand talking towards the left edge of the fresco. According to the style of the other frescoes, the Apostle can probably be recognised as Peter. Christ is reaching out his hand towards him. Behind them there is a crowd of people, maybe the rest of the Apostles, who according to the description of the scene, stand before the sea in the prow.
This Annunciation consists of two figures painted individually and separated by the Virgin Orans on the conch of the apse. The angel is turned towards the direction of the Virgin on a light blue background, assuming a running gait. Because of the light background and the destruction of the figure, the whole image is blurry. Only the wings are distinguished on his back, the halo, and his hand holding a thin, gold sceptre. The Virgin is turned towards the Archangel in a three-quarter figure. Her body is not static, she reaches out to him. She is covered by the classic red maphorion, while the robe underneath is grey. The background is divided into two zones of different hues of grey. Even if the figure is not very clear it shows that the drapery is accomplished with a darker red colour and thin black lines.
The two Hierarchs are depicted inside the conch of the Diakonikon under the Holy Mandylion and the tableau of four scenes. They stand frontally wearing their ecclesiastical vestments with the characteristic *omophorion* decorated with large black and red crosses, gold stoles, and loose robes. Both hold a closed codex. The one on the right has a long white beard, so it can either be Aghios Gregorios or Aghios Athanasios. The other is difficult to indentify.
The Hospitality of Abraham is recognized by its placement above the conch of the apse and the existence of three angels. Generally the condition of the fresco is poor and only the central angel is recognised properly. The halo and wings are painted in the same ochre colour, while the vestments are not discriminated from the blue-grey background. The figures of Abraham and Sarah divind the angels are almost not visible.
Fig. 111, The Virgin Enthroned and Flanked by the Archangels, Aghios Ioannis Theologos (17th century?)

The Virgin on the conch of the apse is seated on the throne of heaven with the Christ Child in her arms and the two Archangels surrounding her. She wears a light blue himation underneath the deep red maphorion. The Christ Child is a three-quarter figure and wears an orange mantle which almost covers his light blue robe. The Archangel on the Virgin’s right wears a light blue robe with gold sleeves, collar and belt and a short, red mantle. On the contrary, the other Archangel wears the same robe in dark purple and a matching mantle. They are young, slim figures holding spears as part of their standard Byzantine representations. The upper part of the fresco has been whitewashed which has destroyed the details of the facial features. The background seems divided into two zones of dark blue and yellow.
The three figures look superficial. The way that the artist depicted them and attached their heads creates an impression that they are looking at the congregation from above. Yellow dominates as it can be seen in the haloes, the throne of the Virgin, Christ’s mantle and the wings of the Archangels. It is an artistic choice to create contrast with the black background. The Virgin wears a light blue robe and a red *maphorion*. The Archangel Michael on the left wears military clothes and holds a spear while Gabriel has a more noble appearance with a long, blue robe. They both are identified by small monograms which survive beside their heads and the choice of vestments.
In this fresco the Virgin has the typical orans position. She is depicted in a loose, deep red maphorion with lots of folds. Her arms are wide open to the side, blessing humanity. The face is not very clear but the outlines show that the eyes are large and almond-shaped. Christ sits on her knees but seems like he is floating on air. He wears an orange himation and his arms follow an orans style as well. However, the Virgin’s palms are open while Christ’s form the shape of blessing. Both figures are frontal. The halo is painted in the same colour as Christ’s vestments. The bright areas of the face are concentrated around the cheeks and the eyes, the nose and chin have shadows. The two figures are placed on a monochromatic ochre background.
The Virgin Orans in Aghios Nikolaos the North does not differ extensively from the previous image. She wears a red *maphorion*, not as dark as in the rest of the examples, with rich folds, made of thick, grey lines. The Christ Child is placed in her arms, but due to the fact that he wears clothes of the same colours he is lost inside the arms of his mother. Although, the Virgin’s nimbus has not survived, Christ’s is vivid and created contrasts with the dominating red. Their eyes are intensively shadowed, creating a kind of mask. The impressive element is the size of the fresco. One of the basic differences of this fresco, besides the unnatural impression of folds, is the hue that the artist chose to depict flesh. The figures have a grayish colour, matching the light blue background.
The model of the Virgin Orans resembles the previous two examples. Unfortunately, its condition is very poor. The only visible element is part of the traditional deep-red *maphorion* and the position of the body while blessing the faithful. There are only traces of the face. Only Christ’s face survives, but not his vestments. His face reveals that he was painted frontally, floating in front of his mother. This depiction does not have any difference from all the frescoes of this type that have been encountered in previous centuries.
The Virgin Orans is depicted in a bust image. Her arms are wide open and her deep-red *maphorion* with gold details creates a large surface for Christ Emmanuel. The *maphorion* is attached to the left shoulder with an impressive cross-jewel, creating the shape of diamonds. Christ wears a light blue *himation* and an orange *chiton* which falls only from his left shoulder. The Virgin’s face is disproportionately large and covers a vast surface of the apse, creating a grand image. The background of the fresco is divided in two zones, seen in other frescoes in this church; dark blue and yellow. The two Archangels which surround the scene are not full figures, but only busts as well. They are dressed in white robes which create a contrast with their orange wings. Their faces are young and their hair tied on the back of the neck. All the nimbuses have a clear yellow colour.
The fresco with the four Hierarchs is partially destroyed and the only thing visible is four male figures with liturgical vestments, judging from some crosses that are visible on them. They stand on the south wall of Aghia Kyriaki guarding the entrance to the sanctuary. The colours cannot be identified properly and probably give a false impression. Their robes are grey and white with alteration as they stand and their *omophoria* have the common pattern with the black and white squares and crosses. A Gospel is recognisable on the hands of two. Normally, these frescoes use repetitive motifs for the four figures, so it is highly probable that the other two hold Gospels as well. With no facial characteristics and inscriptions we cannot identify their identity.
Both figures are depicted half length. Aghios Athanasios wears a *polystavrion* with red crosses and a white *epitachelon* with large, black crosses. His head is bent towards the scroll he holds with his left hand. He is a sceptical figure with long, white beard and short, white hair. Aghios Vasileios is a more vibrant figure, with a straight posture looking at the altar. He has a long, brown beard and short hair. His clothes differ as he wears a brown robe, a white ecclesiastical mantle with short sleeves, gold decorative crosses, and a brown *epitachelon* with black crosses in the same motif as Aghios Athanasios.
On the north part of the zone we encounter Aghios Gregorios and Aghios Ioannis Chrysostomos. Aghios Gregorios, old with white beard, wears his white, liturgical vestment with black crosses and a dark stole. On the contrary, Aghios Ioannis Chrysostomos has a short, brown beard and wears an ochre vestment and white stole with black crosses. He also holds a scroll, but the inscription cannot be read. The two remaining hierarchs on the south part are Aghios Vasileios with the brown beard and the beardless Aghios Eleftherios. The latter wears an identical vestment to Aghios Gregorios and holds a scroll, while Aghios Vasileios wears an ochre vestment with pale decoration and a brown stole with black crosses.

Figs. 119-120, *The Hierarchs*, Aghios Ioannis Theologos (14th century)
The hierarchs on the right side of the Virgin are Aghios Gregorios and Aghios Ioannis Chrysostomos. Although the inscription with their names does not exist, they can be identified by their traditional characteristics; Aghios Gregorios an old man and Aghios Ioannis Chrysostomos, young with brown hair and beard. They wear their liturgical vestments that include a yellow robe and white *omophorion* decorated with thin, black lines, and red crosses. Their nimbus is the same colour as their robes. The hierarchs on the left side of the Virgin are Aghios Vasileios and Aghios Nikolaos. Their depiction is identical with the previous two. The only difference is that their robes are not monochromatic, but decorated with black crosses like their stoles. In addition the condition of the fresco is better.

Figs. 121-122, *The Hierarchs*, Aghios Nikolaos the North (14th century)
The figure of Christ is separated inside a rectangular, red panel. This also divides the fresco into three vertical zones. The background is light ochre. Christ is placed inside a grey chalice naked with a loin cloth around his waist. The two hierarchs are placed in the remaining two zones as three-quarter figures holding scrolls. They wear liturgical vestments in ochre with white folds and light blue stoles with black crosses. The inscriptions above their heads name Aghios Ioannis Chrysostomos on the right side of Christ and Aghios Vasileios on his left. The best preserved face is the one of Aghios Vasileios and the depiction follows the traditional one described by Dionysios of Fourna. The colour of the skin is fairly dark and creates contrast with the background. The inscriptions on their scrolls are more readable in this fresco. Aghios Vasileios declares ‘No-one of those is worthy who is bound by carnal desire’ and Aghios Ioannis, ‘God, our God, who is the bread of heaven…’.

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5 Dionysios of Fourna [trans. P. Hetherington], The Painter’s Manual of Dionysios of Fourna, Oakwood Publications; California, 1996, p. 54
Fig. 124, *The Hierarchs*, Aghios Georgios Katholikos (16th or 17th century)

The four Hierarchs are placed on the north wall, outside the sanctuary. They stand still, front-facing creating a noble atmosphere in their rich, liturgical vestments. Unfortunately, the heads have not survived. Their vestments are traditional, including the white robe covered by the *polystavrion* with the black crosses or squares. Under that red stoles ending in tassels are visible. They hold Gospels with gold bindings and foliage decoration and with their right hands they bless the faithful. The upper part of the fresco is destroyed, so consequently there are no inscriptions in order to identify the figures.
The three figures are frontal and full-size. However, their vestments differ from all the other equivalent frescoes. They are monochromatic, in colours of red, orange, blue and brown, without acquiring the traditional pattern of *polystavrion*, *epitrachelion* or *omophorion* with crosses. The drapery is very rich in both cases and is accomplished with use of brighter hues and thin, black lines. Scrolls unfold from their hands but the text is not very clear. Details from their faces have not survived. The third figure is almost completely destroyed. We can identify an old man with white beard, probably Aghios Gregorios and a young man with brown hair. The length of his beard is not clear, in order to distinguish whether it is Aghios Vasileios or Aghios Ioannis Chrysostomos.
In the second example of the *Melismos* scene Christ is not surrounded by the hierarchs, but by two young, angelic figures. Also there is a cheroubim above his head. The two angels with white and red robes with gold cuffs and collar stand beside the altar where Christ is laid and not placed inside the chalice. He has the body of a baby covered in cloth. The chalice of the Eucharist is placed in the corner with a red cloth coming out of it. The altar is drawn in reverse perspective. Although, the fresco is a little blurred from the lime, the nimbuses have a very clear, yellow colour. Generally, the fresco is dominated by red on a light blue background. Above the altar there a cheroubim a common feature in the frescoes of *Melismos*.  

Christ’s face is depicted on a light blue cloth decorated with thin, red lines in groups of three. The face is haloed and surrounded by long curly hair. Unfortunately, the facial features have been destroyed and cannot be described. The cloth is hanging from a metallic beam and creates a curve due to gravity.
The *Aghio Mandylion* in Aghios Dionysios is very similar to the previous case. The only difference is the size of face which is smaller and covers less of the available surface. The colours of the fresco also survive in a better condition giving a more vibrant impression. However, half of the fresco is lost, destroying Christ’s face again. The artist created richer folds with black lines and darker nuances of grey.
This fresco is the only one in Paliochora where the cloth follows the curved shape of the wall surface, ignoring the horizontal hanging of the cloth through a beam. The cloth is attached to the red frame of the fresco at six points creating an even shape. The drapery is not very successfully depicted. The black vertical and horizontal lines do not represent the real nature of folding and create an unnatural effect. Christ’s face is thinner and ends in a triangular shape. His hair is not rich and seems straight.
The Man of Sorrows in the conch of the Prothesis in Aghioi Theodori is completely destroyed. The only elements that survive are part of the background and part of Christ’s face. The background of the fresco is light blue and is decorated with an arch of foliage encountered in all the examples of the Man of Sorrows. Christ’s head bends on his right shoulder. Next to his head the left arm of the cross has survived.
More than half of the fresco has been white-washed. The artist placed Christ’s body on a dark blue background. The cross behind him is visible. Christ’s body is disproportionately larger than his face which falls unnaturally on his right shoulder, as if the body has no neck. The thick lines in the area of arm joints and sternum create the impression that this is an image of a wooden doll. Probably in the lower area there was a sarcophagus, but the small width of the arch did not allow for the addition of the Virgin and the Apostle John.
In this fresco of the Man of Sorrows, Christ, is standing in a white sarcophagus, designed in reversed perspective, with a white loin-cloth around his waist. Its drapery is formed by red lines. His brown hair falls on his shoulders and his arms are crossed in front of him above the navel area. His body is straight, without incorporating the traditional Byzantine curve, but his eyes are closed following the Byzantine model. The artist has used thick black lines to demarcate his ribs and abdomen. On his right side the Virgin mourns dressed in a purple *maphorion*. Under that she wears a white *himation*. On his left side, the Apostle Ioannis wears a blue *himation* and a mantle in darker tones. Both place their hand on their cheek in a gesture of sorrow. The background is divided into two monochromatic zones; yellow from the sarcophagus until the height of the heads and the rest is dark blue. Finally, the cross is depicted behind Christ’s figure in very thin white lines.
Unfortunately, this fresco has survived only from the top until the waist of the figure. In this example Christ stands alone without the Virgin and the Apostle Ioannis at his sides. Traditionally he is placed inside a sarcophagus, which has not survived. The artist used different hues of brown both for his body and the background creating an image without any contrasts. Next to the conch is the figure of the deacon Stephanos. He is young and beardless, wearing a white robe with gold details. His facial characteristics imitate the ones of the Archangels placing the Virgin of the conch. His skin is drawn in dark brown, the same colour used for the figure of the man of sorrows.
The white sarcophagus and loin cloth are the two elements that dominate this fresco only because of the selection of the rest of the colours, which are darker and blend with each other. The two figures of the Virgin and the Apostle John seem like they are copy-pasted from the Crucifixion scene in the same church (Fig. 202) as they are dressed in the same clothes and have the same posture. The only exception is the Apostle holds his head instead of touching his chest in the area of the heart. Christ is larger than the other figures occupying the larger part of the available surface. His head and nimbus create a disproportionate result compared to the body. His arms resemble a puppet, as the lines in the elbows and wrist are too intense and break the natural shape of the arm. The body is drawn with intense dark lines in the abdomen area and the ribs.
Unfortunately the image on the templon has been destroyed. Only the contours of the two figures and the blue background survive. The posture of the bodies reveals a tender scene between Christ and the Theotokos who are positioned in a three-quarter pose embracing each other. This style is either the Virgin *Glykofilousa* or the Virgin *Hodegetria* who shows the way with her right hand. The hand is usually positioned across her chest, but in this fresco it has been destroyed. Only the yellow of the haloes and Christ’s light blue *chiton* are visible.
The Panaghia Enthroned is the image of the Virgin that underlines her hypostasis as the Mother of God. The fresco is located in the proper position, on the right side of the Royal Door. She is seated frontally on a gold throne, dressed in her usual deep red *maphorion*. However her feet on the pedestal follow a three-quarter mode pointing at the altar. Her facial features are well distinguished and have the Byzantine shadows under the eyes and around the nose. On her knees Christ has a three-quarter position and blesses the world. His garments are not clear because of lime plaster.
The Virgin stands in frontal position. Christ is almost floating in front of her in his ochre robe. Because the fresco is not very clear, it cannot be said with certainty if the Virgin’s hands are holding his body. Christ blesses humanity with his right, raised hand. The Virgin has a whiter face with small, dark eyes. The two figures are almost frozen with no hint of movement or sentiment. The fresco has been partially destroyed by lime plaster.
The fresco of Christ on the templon in Aghios Georgios Katholikos is recognisable only by its position in the arches of the templon and the small part of the nimbus which is still visible. The background was blue matching with Christ’s garment which was light blue. No annotations can be made about his posture or his facial features due to the condition of the fresco.
Christ is seated on his throne with an open Gospel blessing the faithful with his right hand. The inscription on the Gospel is not readable. He wears a red himation and a blue chiton wrapped around the left shoulder, imitating the way mantles were worn in Hellenistic times. On his right shoulder there is a golden stole falling under the mantle. Unfortunately, the fresco is not in a good state. Even the inscription identifying the figure is erased.
Christ is standing looking straight at the visitor, blessing with his right hand. With his left he holds a Gospel with yellow binding and foliate decoration. He wears an ochre-grey himation above a blue chiton that falls from the left shoulder leaving the right shoulder exposed. The drapery is drawn with black, thin, continuous lines, intersected by brighter surfaces. His face seems unnaturally orange which is probably due to some chemical reaction of humidity or the unsuccessful colour palette used in the restoration of the image. In this fresco the stars on the background are repainted and consequently are clearer than in the Virgin’s fresco.
This fresco is located exactly on the south side of the Royal Door, in its accustomed position. The style is the same as in the Virgin Enthroned but survives in a better condition. Christ is seated on a semi-circular gold throne with a pedestal under his bare feet. The diagonal black lines on the throne show its wooden nature. Christ wears a red himation and a blue chiton that falls from his left shoulder. The right hand blesses the faithful and the left holds a Gospel with decorated binding and valuable stones. His face is dark and is almost mixed with his brown hair and beard. The halo completes the domination of gold in the scene. Above the small arch, the surface is decorated with red and gold foliage on a blue background, imitating the motif encountered earlier in the Man of Sorrows.
The three-quarter figure is turned towards the altar. Due to the problematic space created by the two Royal Doors, the artist changed his position and placed him at the north edge of the templon. The figure is covered by a long *chiton* in brown which has faded away. Instead of holding a scroll as usual he extends his right arm towards the Virgin. The colour of his arm is much darker than the colour of the face. His hair is messy, long and brown and his beard incipient. The only element that has remained clear is the halo.
The background of this fresco is divided into three zones; dark blue, yellow, and dark blue again. The yellow part which is the wider covers the main surface of the body. John the Baptist is represented as an angelic figure, but in a frontal position and not three-quarters (model introduced by the painter Angelos).\(^7\) His expression is still severe and his face is covered with his messy hair. His robe is loose and attached around the waist with a belt, creating folding. The clothes have dark, earthy colours and his wings are orange, creating a difference from the classic white colour. He is holding a long open scroll and blesses with his right hand. The colour of the halo is the same as the middle background surface.

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\(^7\) For more details see pp. 179-180.
In this case his position is correct and the depiction follows again the type with wings and a spear. He is ascetic with a long brown beard and messy hair. He wears a grey *himation* and over that a loose ochre *chiton*. His garments look rich due to the successful designing of drapery with an alteration of thin and thick black lines and bright surfaces. The artist used thick black lines to create folds and darker tones of the ochre colour. John the Baptist blesses with his right hand and holds a scroll urging remorse.
The final fresco on the templon of Aghios Georgios Katholikos is the image of John the Baptist, placed to the south edge. It is a dark-skinned figure, with no remaining features, dressed in clothes with brown tones. All frescoes on this templon, according to the parts that have survived share the same principles; brown hues for the garments and figures placed on a blue background. Unfortunately the state of the fresco does not allow many observations in matters of style and technique.
The figure of John the Baptist has many similarities with the one of Christ in the next arch of the templon (Fig. 143). Under the destruction one can identify the same features and painting technique. In addition the vestments follow exactly the same type and colours. The only difference is that John the Baptist holds a scroll and not the Gospel.
CHAPTER IV: Iconography of the Nave

It is the only fresco of this theme where the Apostles survive as full size figures. The fresco is located on the west wall of the Cathedral. The figures are elongated and their bodies seem extremely tall and thin. The choice of colours for the himatia and chitons resembles the fresco in the Church of the Metamorphosis (Fig. 229). Both figures hold Gospels with decorated bindings. The model of the Church is more elaborate than in the other examples. It shows clearly the transition from the dome to the main walls by a series of vaults and squinches. The lower part of the fresco is not very clear, but the colour is differentiated from the dark blue background.
Unfortunately, the fresco of the Last Judgement on the north wall has not survived as a piece. Only the left part, showing half of the semi-circular throne with the Apostles is still extant. Specifically, there are four figures dressed with himatia and chitons in different combinations. Their feet are crossed at the base of the gold throne and they all hold Gospels. They seem to talk together and they are not focused on Christ who was in the middle of the scene. Nothing has survived from the Deisis motif. The left part depicts Mary in Paradise. The Virgin is dressed in her usual vestments and stands in the middle of trees, drawn without perspective, representing the Paradise.
Christ is brought in front of Annas and Caiaphas in order to apologise for his actions. According to the description of the *Hermeneia*, Annas is an old man with a long, grey beard, wearing a hat. In this fresco the hat is absent but his posture, sitting on the throne with loose garments, matches the text. Caiaphas is standing next to him. Behind Christ there are servants and soldiers. The scene takes place in a palace indicated by the grey arched wall. Large parts of the fresco have been white washed.

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Footnote:

8 Dionysios of Fournai, 1996, p. 37
Although the scene is supposed to be evolving inside the palace, the addition of the dark blue layer on the upper part indicates an open environment and transfers the scene to the courtyard. Pontius Pilate sits on his throne and a servant in front of him holds a basin and pours water from a jug. He turns away his head towards the building behind him, where his councilor stands. In front of him there is a crowd of Jews waiting for his verdict. The floor is made with the same technique as in the Presentation scene in the church of the Metamorphosis (Fig. 193). Also the same colour palette and style is used for the garments and facial features.
This scene combines two incidents according to iconographic rules; the financial exchange between Judas and Annas and Caiaphas and the hanging of Judas. The first scene takes part indoors on a large stone ochre table. The hierarchs are drawn as elderly figures with robes and veils around their heads. Judas wears a blue himation and an orange chiton and counts the coins which are laid on the table. The next event is separated primarily by the background, where there are mountains and a tree. The tree has bent over from the weight of his body. In order to keep the narrative sequence, the artist drew Judas in the same colours.
The Washing of the Feet is painted next to the Last Supper. In this fresco the table is extremely high and solid. It is divided into a wooden base and a stone horizontal surface. The Apostle Peter dressed in light blue himation and orange chiton holds his head. Christ is drying his foot with a towel which falls from his left shoulder. The Apostles in the lower group are all dressed identically with light blue himatia and red chitons. The Apostles of the upper group are not drawn as full figures but are hidden behind the gigantic table and only their busts are visible. The wall in the background is divided into three vertical zones of grey, orange, and ochre. In this scene only Christ is haloed.
The Last Supper is one of the scenes drawn on the barrel vault of the church. It is dominated by the large oval table. The way the artist tried to depict it does not agree either with perspective or with the reversed technique. It is like a plan of the table in a three dimensional depiction. The Apostles are seated around it talking in small groups, dressed mainly in blue and red robes and *chitons*. Christ’s figure occupies the centre and is larger than the Apostles. Also he is the only one with a halo. The fresco is small and there are many figures in it, so the facial characteristics are not detailed, but the artist tried to follow the standard depiction for each one of them. A curved grey-ochre wall with three towers created the background.
Christ is already raised on the Cross but his feet are still supported by a ladder. The ochre loin cloth around his waist is longer than the usual depiction in the Crucifixion motif. Soldiers are gathered around the Cross, others are holding the ropes of the cross and other nails. They wear military tunics and helmets. In the background two smaller ladders are obvious indicating the presence of the two thieves. In front of the cross there is a haloed male figure dressed in a loose blue himation and a red chiton. As the halo is cruciformed, a type reserved for Christ, probably the artist depicted Christ before ascending to the Cross to be crucified. The upper part of the fresco including Christ’s upper body has been destroyed.
This fresco is the visual representation of the post-Anastasis event of ‘Touch me Not’, where the figures are Christ and Mary Magdalene. Mary wears a deep purple *maphorion* and kneels before Christ. His figure is placed on a higher level and belongs to the right part of the fresco which has been white-washed. Both figures are placed on a countryside landscape with mountains and trees. The artist has not tried to show perspective, as the size of trees is similar both for the forefront and the background. The mountains are created by monochromatic zones, divided with curved black lines.
This fresco shares many similarities with the fresco from the Church of the Metamorphosis (Fig. 207). The only basic difference is the addition of a staircase, in reverse perspective, in front of Christ which changes the structure of the scene, as the two groups of Apostles are not placed on the same level. The group led by Thomas comes to the forefront, while the one led by Peter seems far back. Also the scene is not symmetrical as Christ is moved to the right side of the panel. The colours employed for this fresco are orange, ochre and red. The only grey elements are half of the wall in the background and the staircase.
Dionysios of Fourna describes a multi-figural scene with the presence of Apostles, Pharisees, and a large crowd. Half of the scene including Christ’s figure has been destroyed. Only part of his halo and the end of his blue robe still survive. The paralytic lies on his bed covered with red sheets. The bed seems to be properly put on the ground. The background is constituted by a brown wall and a small tower and a red, thick tower behind Christ. The colours of the fresco, apart from the sky, are restricted to an ochre-red palette.

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9 Dionysios of Fourna, 1996, p. 34
The scene is named after Simon of Kyrene who carried the Cross. The figures are placed on a mixed background depicting both part of the walls of the city and mountains. What is interesting is the way the artist drew the walls which imitate a floor plan, as we can see the rooftops of buildings. Christ occupies the middle of the fresco, wearing a brown robe with his hands tied in front of him. He is encircled by two soldiers; one pedestrian in front of him and one horseman behind him. Simon is an old man dressed with a dark robe. The fresco is completed by mourning figures on the upper part with the Virgin as the main protagonist and the Apostle John at her side.
The scene of the Visitation is drawn in the courtyard of Elisabeth’s house. The house is demarcated by an ochre wall, four arched windows, and two main entrances which end in towers. The two women are slightly off the central axis. The artist presents the affectionate moment when the two women embrace each other. The artist chose to depict the simple version of the theme, with the inclusion of just the protagonist figures of the Virgin and Elisabeth. The colour palette used for the garments of Elisabeth (orange, ochre) is similar to the background, while the Virgin creates contrast with the blue himation and red maphorion. The Virgin’s placement on the left rather than the right is quite common.
The pregnant Virgin stands enraptured in front of Joseph, although her pregnancy is not very obvious in this fresco. She stands on a pedestal and Joseph is before her leaning on his staff. He reaches out to her with his right arm, looking at her. The background is divided into three zones: dark blue for the sky, grey with the formation of a household, and orange for the floor. The garments are drawn in the same colours for both figure (blue himation and red chiton/maphorion). The folds are accomplished by using lighter nuances of the same colour.
This is a depiction of the Nativity theme according to the Akathist Hymn. Even the title of the scene is different and focuses on the announcement of the event to the shepherds. The garments of the Virgin change slightly regarding the colour of her robe which is white, but Joseph wears exactly the same colours as in the previous fresco. The shepherds wear short orange tunics, which are very bright and lighten the scene. From the animals only the ox is present. The cradle in the middle resembles a small box and Christ inside is tied with white swaddling. The background is completed with a tall dark mountain whose shape is lost in the night.
The Magi ride their horses on their way to Bethlehem. Only two horse bodies are clearly present in the scene, one white and one red-brown. The third is supposed to be on the background. At the moment only three ochre legs are visible behind the red-brown horse. The figures have been mixed with the mountains of the background. The upper part of the fresco has experienced severe damage.
The fresco is largely destroyed, but the placement of the figures and remaining parts help in the identification of the theme. The Virgin is seated on a gold throne holding the Christ Child on her lap. Joseph stands on one side and the three Magi offer their presents to the newborn. The background seems monochromatic and dark blue. All the facial features have been destroyed and only parts of clothes are visible in the lower section. The royal background of the Magi is illustrated with expensive vestments decorated with valuable stones.
The scene takes place in the countryside as the holy family tries to escape. The background consists of brown mountains, but in the back on the right the grey walls of the city are visible. The Virgin, covered with her red maphorion, sits sideways on the white ass, holding Christ Child. She turns back to look at Joseph who follows the ass on foot. He holds a staff and wears his cloak thrown over his left shoulder. The road is shown by an angel dressed in a long, white robe with orange wings.
The scene of the Presentation in the Temple in Aghia Kyriaki is glorious, colourful and vivid. Even the wall in the background is drawn in intense orange with yellow details, depicting also the windows and arched doors. The *kivorion* follows the same colour palette and forms part of the background. The difference is made by the red cloth hanging on it. Simeon is depicted as old, with long, grey hair and his posture reveals his age. He stands on a pedestal but there is no throne apparent behind him. Christ wears an ochre robe and has brown, curly hair. He reaches out towards his mother. The Theotokos and the Prophetess Anna are depicted in the same way wearing robes and *maphoria* in different colours. Joseph is the last in line, an old figure with white hair and beard wearing a grey *himation* and a red *chiton*.
Above the walls of the city, Christ is depicted inside a round mandorla, flanked by angels. He blesses with both hands the two groups of Apostles and clerics who are gathered below. Christ, shown as a bust image, wears an orange mantle wrapped around his body and the angels holding the mandorla seem to kneel on an invisible cushion. The Apostles are led by Peter and seem to discuss amongst themselves, while the group of bishops is focused on them. The Apostles are dressed with himatia and chitons in grey, yellow and red. On the contrary, the bishops are presented in rich liturgical vestments.
This fresco only half survives as the right part has been white washed. The Virgin sits on a semi-circular throne with a pedestal holding Christ in her arms. The throne is placed on the central vertical axis. Her body follows the ordinary style with frontal torso and three-quarter legs. Christ’s body is also turned in the same direction as her knees. The scene is completed with groups of saints looking at them. The type of clothes of the remaining group shows that they are monastic saints. They all wear robes and grey monastic habits. Behind the scenery imitates city walls with two towers and a dome in the middle.
The fresco above is dominated by grey. Only Christ’s robe and one of the Apostles wear a red himation which interrupts the monotonous impression. Christ is standing slightly off the central axis, blessing with both hands two groups of kneeling men. The group on the left includes 6 disciples, while the other is formed by laymen. Normally the fresco includes a second layer at the top, where Christ is depicted in heaven, surrounded by eternal light and choirs of angels.\textsuperscript{10} The background is organised with the classic straight wall ending in two towers, drawn in reversed perspective.

\textsuperscript{10} Dionysios of Fournas, 1996, p. 52
The theme is identified by the first part of the stanza written on the upper part of the panel. If there was not inscription the fresco could have been identified as the Synaxis of the Asomatoi. A large number of angels, dressed in ochre robes, form a shape where the central figures are frontal and the side ones turn to three-quarter position. The central angel holds a medallion with Christ’s bust. Following the traditional practice the crowd is created by haloes and not actual bodies.
The seventeenth stanza survives in a poor condition, because the majority of figures have been destroyed by humidity. The motif imitates much of the fourteenth stanza, ‘Seeing this strange child’ (Fig. 168). The Virgin sits on a throne with Christ on her lap, surrounded by young and old men wearing veils around their heads or fur caps. This time her body is turned towards the left side. The width of the fresco is small and the two towers of the wall in the background are painted very close to each other. The dominant colours are ochre and orange.
The Virgin stands holding Christ before an orange wall with several windows and doors, which creates a household environment. She wears her traditional clothes and has a static frontal posture. On her right side there are three young women wearing royal vestments and crowns, kneeling and offering presents to her. Their garments are a complicated assortment, including a robe, a tunic with gold cuffs, collar and stitching lines, and a mantle. The gold panels have an extra line of pearl decoration. Christ is a three-quarter figure, turned into the direction of the Virgins. He wears a blue himation and an orange chiton, similar to his depictions on the conch of the apse described in the previous section of the appendix.
The upper zone of the fresco is the same as in the thirteenth stanza, ‘The Creator showed a new Creation’. The lower zone is separated by the ending of the grey wall which has a large arched door in the middle. Also the two zones are divided by the choice of colour. The upper part is dominated by grey, while the lower by red and ochre. Bishops and holy men are gathered around the Psalter’s stand reading hymns from open books. They are dressed in red robed except for the central figure of the left group which is dressed in white.
Christ stands among houses tearing apart two scrolls with Hebrew writing on them. The fresco is not in a condition to allow us to read of the text, but Dionysios of Fourna provides an inscription: 'The Writing of Adam'.\textsuperscript{11} He is surrounded by groups of young men kneeling before him. The background is identical with all the stanzas of the Akathist Hymn which still survive in Aghia Kyriaki. From the frescoes that still exist, this one has suffered the most extensive damage.

\textsuperscript{11} Dionysios of Fourna, 1996, p. 52
Instead of the Virgin seated on the throne with Christ on her arms, the artist chose to place a wooden icon of the Virgin on the throne. The type follows the *Hodegetria* model, judging from the Virgin’s gesture which shows the way with her arm pointing at Christ; the road to salvation is through him. On her left there is a group of noble men with rich vestments and crowns. On the other side is a group of men with wide-brimmed hats, who are most probably the musicians.
The last stanza of the Akathist Hymn ends in a format similar to the previous fresco. The throne is again occupied by an icon and not the figure of the Virgin. Unfortunately, the right part has been destroyed. In this fresco the Virgin is not placed in the middle but occupies the right part of the painting. Both towers are visible and there is no additional space to the right to assume that there was a second group of people on the other side. It is a group of clerics, in which the middle figure holds an open Gospel. Also this figure wears the most elaborate ecclesiastical garments, while all the others wear monochrome robes and grey veils around their heads.
Fig. 177, The Visitation, Aghios Stephanos (17th century)

Unfortunately, the fresco survives in a poor condition. The two women are depicted the moment before embracing each other. Only one figure is still visible on the right. She is wrapped in an ochre maphorion. The brown outlines are very intense because the colour of the surface has faded out. The outlines also help in the creation of rich folds which do not allow the figure of the body to appear. The other figure is a sketch on the double background. The background has two zones separated at the level of the hips. The lower part is ochre and the upper dark blue.
The fresco is organised on three levels. On the first level, only two of the martyrs are depicted accompanied by a Roman soldier. It is a figure full of movement, as he stands with his weight totally forwards and off balance, waving his sword, ready to decapitate the kneeling saint in front of him. The second saint is placed behind the soldier reaching out desperately to the first. It is a totally static figure which balances the composition and creates a contrast with the movement of the other bodies. On the second level of the scene there is a building occupying the right part of the scene. Finally, on the third level there is another building in a different style. However, the painter has failed to attribute distance as the further building is drawn in warmer colours, a fact that brings it closer to the viewer.
The synthesis is symmetrical towards a central axis which divides two co-existing martyrdoms. The left part of the fresco is destroyed, although the contours reveal a kneeling saint waiting for his decapitation. Aghia Melane is covered with a dark grey mophorion which reveals the brown robe underneath. The soldier who tortures her wears a purple tunic with red and grey boots. The folds are made with black surfaces and white lines. The scene occurs in the countryside. The ground is divided into zones of plants. In addition, on the right part there are mountains and on the left a two-storey building.
Fig. 180, The Beheading of John the Baptist, Zoodochos Pege (17th century)

The martyrdom takes place inside a jail, so the chosen colour palette differs from the previous murals which had a natural background. John the Baptist, a very skinny figure, is kneeling waiting patiently for his death, wearing handcuffs. He has long, messy hair, and incipient brown beard. The soldier behind him is depicted in the common military armour with short tunic, belt around the waist and a brown cloak. The only contrast is made with the colourful vestments of Salome. Her proportions are unnatural, as her head is large compared to the rest of the body. Her face has a pink nuance that is not encountered in the faces of the other figures. She reveals her royal origins with the crown and the jewels she wears. Her hair is brown, long and curly, while her face has wide eyes, thick eyebrows and thin lips.
The beginning of the north wall is covered by a martyrdom in which the inscription is not clear, but the theme reveals its title. The scene evolves in a mountainous place with rocks and in the middle the saintly figure dominates. He kneels on the ground and is surrounded by two lions with black claws. Their bodies do not seem to be muscled. Aghios Ignatios wears a green robe and intense red mantle; not a very common combination in Paliochora. The folds of his garments are designed with detail, both with white lines and difference of nuance. His face has not survived. The figure of the soldier on the left is dressed in a red tunic. The background is dark and the different features cannot be discerned.
This fresco is differentiated from the previous one by the warm red colour of the architectural background, which is quite strong and dominates the scene. The central surface is occupied by a large wheel of torture placed on a pedestal. This pedestal is an excellent example of the reverse perspective technique. Aghios Georgios is tied to the wheel while two soldiers pull his ropes. The soldiers are beardless and without the complete military uniform. The figure of the saint is naked and totally deformed by the wheel. Behind the wheel, the background is completed with seven spears placed in the ground and a building. The synthesis is very plain and symmetrical with the wheel. The symmetry is followed even to the arched windows of the edifice. The only element that breaks the pattern is the soldiers’ feet which escape from the rectangular frame.
Aghios Demetrios is seated on a semi-circular chair of red wood with ochre decorative lines, while his feet are on a pedestal. On the opposite side three soldiers are attacking him with their spears. Aghios Demetrios lifts his arm very naturally, so they can hit him at the same spot as Christ on the Cross. His head is disproportional to his body. The three soldiers have muscular bodies, but their posture does not reveal energy. They create a strong cluster which makes a contrast to the skinny saint. The diagonal lines of the spears produce a strong element of the composition. The three muscled soldiers wear brown, red and green tunics with mantles in opposite colours. None of the faces has survives. The background is dark and only a tower is seen on the right side.
The right part of the fresco is destroyed. As his execution took place outside the city, the background consists of mountains. Only on the right is there the castle of Jerusalem. The ground is divided into zones with plants and as these zones help in creating depth, the middle figure has a weird placement as it steps between two zones. The artist has filled the gap between the people and the martyr with stones, which gives the impression that they have been thrown by invisible hands. The middle figure wears a blue tunic with long sleeves and a red belt. Moreover, the left figure wears a red tunic and blue boots and both of them are ready to throw stones. The third person present wears a purple tunic. Of the figure of Aghios Stephanos, only his legs remain revealing his kneeling stance.
The description of this fresco is based on Prokopiou’s notes. It depicts a combination of aggressive tortures, but is not preserved in a good state. It gives a blurred, grey image of soldiers holding their hammers. Three martyrs stand on the first level and behind them three soldiers with hammers and axes. The martyrs remain calm, even if their feet and hands have been mutilated and lay in a circle of blood on the ground. All of them are naked and their anatomy is depicted with thin, delicate, curved lines. In the remaining inscription only one name can be read; Aghios Mavrikios. All the colours have faded out. However, from the remains it is possible to identify that their tunics had bright red and blue tones. The soldiers seem young and beardless with short hair.
Again this fresco was described by Prokopiou while in a better state. In 2010, when the photographs were taken, the largest part has been destroyed. Only five heads can be observed and the central one wears a crown. Two soldiers surround the group of five, guarding them. On the right there is another head with white hair and a noble expression that belongs to a sovereign. On the other end there is a second nobleman watching the scene of the martyrdom. From the inscription only two names are identified; Loukianos and Charalampos.
The theme of the Reclining Infant appears in the middle of the west wall, along with Peter and Paul holding the Church and Aghia Filothei. Christ is represented as a child lying on a mattress. He wears a light blue *himation* and an ochre tunic which covers his entire body. Only his toes are left unprotected. The folds are rich and accomplished by dense black lines. Today, the body survives in a good condition but the head is totally white-washed.
The image of the Pantokrator has been destroyed but the circle in the middle of the vault created by red lines indicates the position of the image. Unfortunately, there is nothing left from the original fresco, nor the ones around it.
The Virgin and the Archangel Gabriel are placed in front of a wall with two towers. The wall represents houses and is painted in ochre and orange. Both the floor and sky are drawn in dark blue. The Virgin stands on the right on a pedestal, dressed in her traditional garments. Her palms are open in front of her chest in a gesture of acceptance and her head bends forwards. The archangel has a running gait. He wears a rich, white robe. The lower part of his body has been destroyed.
This photograph serves only to observe the current state of the three-panel Annunciation motif according to the Akathist Hymn (2010). The following description is based from Prokopiou’s personal notes. The Virgin and the Archangel are placed inside a courtyard. Gabriel on the left salutes the Virgin. The Virgin sits on a low throne. She is covered with a deep red *maphorion* and places her hand on her chest to show resignation. The background in the two first panels is identical (ochre wall with two grey towers). In the second fresco the Virgin stands turned towards Gabriel. His figure is lengthened and his proportions seem unnatural. The third panel was already destroyed by the time Prokopiou studies these frescoes.
The dominant element in the Nativity fresco is the triangular mountain in the middle with the wide cave opening. The opening has the same colour as the black background. The Panaghia wears a deep red maphorion and grey robe underneath and she is very well distinguished in the darkness of the cave. Christ’s cradle is small and slightly away from the Virgin. The mountains behind the main cave are drawn in a different colour, to show difference and perspective by using darker hues and smaller heights. Joseph is seated alone in the right corner, skeptical, with his hand supporting his face. His old face seems troubled and tired. The angels wear robes in blue, orange, and yellow. The shepherds are drawn as shorter figures, to attribute a hierarchy between holy figures and laymen. Finally, the star is depicted half length and has a crystal essence.
The condition of the fresco is poor. Only the mountain and its cave are clearly visible in the middle of the fresco. The white diagonal lines to depict stone material are seen in the same church in the fresco of the Raising of Lazarus. Christ is distinguished in a small rectangular box in front of the opening. All the other figures are mixed with the background and the lime layers.
The three figures on the left, the Virgin, the Prophetess Anna and Joseph are dressed in blue and deep red vestments according to the male and female standard depiction of clothes. Simeon the Righteous wears a deep red robe as well which covers the full length of his body. The four haloes are clearly painted. The dominant ochre colour on the architectural background is apparent in the wall behind the figures. The *kivorioi* is not as obvious as its thin purple columns get lost in the powerful yellow background. The two grey towers complete the synthesis, creating an indoor environment. The floor is elegantly painted with triangular tiles in ochre. The upper part of the fresco is painted in black depicting the sky.
This is a fresco designed in two layers. The second layer, which also forms the background, includes a temple and a *kivorion* with four columns. The *kivorion* is much shorter than in the other examples. The colours of the garments of the three standard figures follow the model of the previous fresco in the Church of the Metamorphosis. However, the current fresco is extensively destroyed by lime, so the colours are not vibrant and we cannot identify many bodily details and facial features. The dominant element is the large orange wall with windows and arches in the background.
Unfortunately, this image survives in an extremely poor condition. Christ and the two prophets are almost destroyed and only the lower part of their bodies is still visible. The figures are placed on a rocky surface and at the central point the rock is diminished in order to give Christ the impression of flying. Christ probably wears a white chiton. The grey surface of the rocks is the dominant feature of this fresco. In the lower zone the Apostles stand in a better state, but only the general shapes and their haloes are clear.
The three major figures of the scene seem to incline towards their right side. The image is not created on the vertical axis. Christ's colours belong to the same grey palette with his star-shaped mandorla and do not create an intense contrast with the blue background. Moses wears a brown robe and holds the Law with both hands. He is an older figure with short white hair and beard. Unfortunately, the Prophet Elijah has been destroyed. Only, the contour of the figure is visible along with the lower part of his light green robe. The Apostles are destroyed and only part of John's halo is visible under the brown rocky surface, made of random geometrical shapes.
The fresco does not survive intact. The scene is equally balanced in two parts. Two men are removing the stone from the entrance of the tomb. We can observe that the artist played with thick black lines to evoke the material of the stone. Christ stands at the edge of the panel incorporating the characteristic movement of calling Lazarus. Lazarus is barely seen inside his tomb. The two sisters of Lazarus, Martha and Maria, are kneeling in front of Christ dressed in ochre robes, both looking at his side. Folds are shown again by thick black lines.
The representation of this scene has been modified by the artist in order to fit the available surface. The ass moves slowly with bent head on the orange background. Christ wears a brown robe and a blue *chiton*. His halo dominates the scene. The crowd on the left and right sides is not holding palms. The figures cannot be distinguished as they are attached to each other to save space and seem like a crowd of faces. On the edge of the background there is also a building showing the entrance to the city. Generally, the ambience is not festive as it is usually depicted in this scene.
Christ enters the city on a grey ass (in lighter tone than the previous fresco) which bends its head towards the ground. He wears a brown *himation* and an ochre *chiton*. There is a group of people, the Apostles, behind him dressed in the same tones. On the other edge of the fresco there is another group of people standing before the gates. The bodies are placed very close to each other, using the same technique of painting heads when creating an army of angels. In this scene children are present. Lime layers have destroyed the details of the scene.
Christ is the dominating figure, drawn in a larger scale than the rest of the figures, with a blue loin-cloth around his waist. The whole synthesis is dominated by orange and ochre. The figures on the background are drawn in ochre as well and consequently they cannot be distinguished. The soldier in front of Christ wears a dark tunic and helmet and is depicted at the moment he tries to wound Christ. The Virgin and the Apostle John are drawn in red garments in their traditional position. The depiction of the city consists of a geometrical ochre wall with small loopholes. The sun and moon underline the axis of the Cross and have a symbolic meaning of death and rejuvenation of life. The fresco has been partially destroyed by humidity.
This is the most complicated fresco of the church including many figures and colours. It is located on the west wall, above the main entrance. It is a multi-figural scene painted inside a red panel with a rich architectural background. Apart from the normal motif of the Virgin and John, there is a crowd of people escorting them. The majority of the figures wear long robes and the women wear the traditional maphorion. In addition the scene includes the two thieves and the two soldiers holding a spear and a sponge. Christ is depicted in the traditional posture with his body bending on the right side, naked with a white loin-cloth around his waist. The two criminals follow the same pattern with the difference that they bend towards Christ. The background is blue and creates a contrast with the grey-ochre walls of the city. Its dominant element is the tiled dome on the left side.
It is depicted on the north wall, on the surface of the second blind arch. The scene of the Crucifixion is dark correlating with the nature of the theme. The fresco does not occupy the whole surface of the arch but only a rectangle in the middle. Christ’s body is painted in dark ochre. He is centrally placed on the Cross. The Virgin wears a rich dark red *maphorion* and the Apostle John wears a brown *himation*, one tone brighter than the background. The folding is created only with black lines and some brighter surfaces. The faces are almost obscure. The bright areas are concentrated under the eyes and the line of the nose. The only element that creates a kind of contrast is the haloes that crown their heads. Above their heads there are tiny inscriptions like later carvings which declare the Mother of God and the Apostle Ioannis.
The fresco of Pentecost does not survive in a perfect state. The upper part is almost completely destroyed by lime layers. Only four Apostles on the sides of the wooden bench are clearly seen. This scene is the first one in which the Apostles are depicted with haloes around their heads as it is the moment of acceptance of the Holy Spirit, and they look towards different directions discussing in wonder with each other. The artist follows respectfully the colour palette found in all frescoes of this church. The man representing the World stands in the middle, on ochre mountains and wears a purple robe with gold belt and collar. He has white hair and a crown. The ark is painted in grey tones with thin black lines to indicate the lines of wood.
Incredulity of Thomas
Entry to Jerusalem
Transfiguration
Resurrection of Lazarus
Presentation in the Temple

Last Judgement
Nativity
Annunciation

Fig. 204, Plan of the Koimesis of the Theotokos with the Placement of Frescoes from the Dodekaorton (14th century)
Christ is a standing three-quarter figure, wearing a purple robe and white apron, underlining the humility of his action. He stands on a short footstool with a white cushion. The table is rectangular painted in reversed perspective. The colours reveal the materials, wood for the base and stone for the horizontal surface. Peter is seated on the table, wearing an orange robe, with one foot inside the circular stone water basin. Five Apostles are seated in the right corner talking, wearing blue and red vestments. The rest are seated behind the table but they have been destroyed due to lime layers. In the background there are hints of an ochre wall with grey towers.
This fresco has the same characteristics as the previous one in the Cathedral of Paliochora (Fig. 154). The only difference is that the one in the Church of the Metamorphosis survives in a better condition with less lime layers altering the true essence of colours and erasing the features of the figures.
The Incredulity of Thomas is shown in front of a strong architectural background; thick grey walls with two towers. Christ seems a much taller figure, is dressed in an ochre *chiton* wrapped around his body, and raises his right arm in order to reveal his wound. His face is destroyed and only the halo is distinguishable. At both sides there are groups of men, the Apostles. They are not static figures but incorporate movement that shows anxiety to understand what is happening in front of their eyes. In this fresco the dominant colours for vestments are blue, red, and orange. The element that characterizes this scene is Thomas’ movement to touch the wound of Christ. It is one of the few frescoes in the church in which some movement is apparent, but still mainly from two figures, the two Apostles that are close to Christ, Thomas and Peter.
This fresco survives in a poor condition and a large part of it is covered with lime plaster. The background is painted in grey colours, divided by arches and windows. Christ is standing in the middle, in front of a kivorion while groups of people are gathered around him. The group on the left which usually includes the protagonist, the Apostle Thomas is destroyed. The group led by the Apostle Peter forms a line behind his figure, where only some heads and haloes can be identified. Both Christ and the Apostle wear an orange chiton with rich folds drawn with dark brown, thick lines.
The main figure of the fresco, Christ, is wrapped in a red *himation* with rich folds inside a grey mandorla. Christ has the largest dimensions and is projected to the forefront. The Virgin wears a dark red *maphorion* while John the Baptist has an orange *chiton* over a red *himation*. The Apostles are dressed in the same earthy colours. They are seated looking at the scene. They have different patterns in their stance, especially their hands, which are either extended towards Christ or crossed in front of their chest. The only gold elements that create contrast are the haloes and the throne. The throne follows the shape of the surface. The crowd of faces behind Christ has suffered severe damage. They have shadows around the eyes and are left bright in the centre of the face. Under the mandorla there are two angels with trumpets announcing the Second Coming.
Christ, the central figure is drawn in his Glory wearing an ochre robe, approximately the same colour as his nimbus. His arms are open to the side with palms showing his wounds. To his right, the Virgin Mary is depicted in her usual deep red maphorion and grey robe underneath. She is tall, thin and resembles her image in the scenes of the Annunciation. John the Baptist on his right is painted in ochre garments. The Apostles, are seated on a semi-circular gold throne wearing brown or red robes and hold scrolls and Gospels. Behind the first layer of the fresco, the background is filled with haloes which create a crowd of saints and angels. The right part of the fresco survives in a better condition. The fresco is completed by a trumpeting angel flying in the lower part, wearing a wavy light blue robe. His face is young and his hair tied at the base of his neck.
The left part of this fresco is dominated by ochre tones and imitates a natural background. The Hierarchs in the middle are recognised by their liturgical vestments and the women are dressed like nuns in dark habits. The last row is full of saints, wearing brown, purple and blue robes. The dominating element at the bottom is the crowd of nimbuses. On the contrary, the right part is divided into light blue zones. Inside a brown cloud some naked figures represent souls. The bodies are drawn in brown with horizontal lines to indicate the muscles of the chest. Generally the outlines are intense. The angels wear light grey robes and red cloaks. The white scroll depicting the sun and moon is a dominating element in the middle of the scene. The fresco is divided by a red line.
The fresco has survived severe damage from humidity. All the colours have been lost except for the light blue background. The figures are identified only by their contours. The throne of the Apostles follows the external line of the arch; the empty throne occupied the middle of the fresco and behind there is a clear image of the Cross of the Passion. However, no detailed description can be attempted due to the poor condition of the fresco.
The theme of the Last Judgment has been drawn on a dark blue background. The fresco is characterised by a main axis on which Christ and the empty throne are depicted. Christ and John the Baptist wear an ochre *himation* just as in Aghia Kyriaki. The Virgin is depicted in her red *maphorion*. Due to the light colours of the majority of figures the contours are visible. The throne of the Apostles is assembled of two ochre rectangles. On the lower part of the fresco there are four figures: Adam and Eve and two angels flying above them. The artist created diagonal pairs, so Eva and one angel are dressed in black and Adam with the other angel in blue. The latter are barely discriminated from the background. The scene is crowded, but reveals peace and order.
The Last Judgment in Aghios Efthymios contains more figures than the other frescoes depicting the equivalent theme. Another different characteristic is that the throne of the Apostles is designed on the upper part of the arch, creating a protective surface above Christ. Their position is occupied by Adam and Eve, who have been upgraded a level. Groups of saints and sinners are led by angels to the doors of heaven and hell and it is the only fresco where the red fiery river crosses the entire surface vertically. The Personification of the Sea and the Scales of Justice are incorporated in the scene next to the river. All the drapery is rich and accomplished by using lighter and darker nuances of the same colour and thin, black lines. The outlines are smooth and the faces have the characteristic shadows under the eyes, around the nose and at the side of the chin when they have a three-quarter stance. It is the most complete example of the Last Judgement in Paliochora.
The fresco of the Sea is depicted on the triangular surface between the main entrance and the first arch in the middle wall. The fresco is covered by zones of grey-blue in order to remind us of waves. The main figure is a woman seated on a sea monster, eating a human head. She wears a crown which indicates royal authority. Her features are beyond natural proportions, as the head is particularly long, her legs short and her arms skinny and long, almost as long as her entire body. She wears a white dress which leaves one shoulder uncovered. She is young and her brown hair is tied under her crown. With her right arm she holds a ship with seven-person crew. The scene is completed with other monsters and fish which hold human parts in their mouths.
This fresco lies next to the Last Judgement on the north wall, exactly at the same position as in Aghia Kyriaki. This scene is characterised by grey and light blue appropriate for the subject. The rocky light brown background works as a frame around the main theme. The woman who personifies the sea is dressed in red and wears a crown. The same colour is also used for coral in the middle of the fresco as well as for the small figure on the left side which represents the earth. She holds a huge ship, compared to her size, with her right arm. The boat is dark blue and has a large white sail. The rest of the surface is dominated by the blue of the sea and structures that seem to be sea plants and corals. At the bottom of the fresco there are sketches of other ships.
This fresco consists of five figures in juxtaposition. The Virgin is seated on a red stool dressed in a purple *maphorion*. The letters around her head state her title as Mother of God. She is surrounded by two angels in three-quarter position, probably the Archangels. They wear grey robes and *chitons*, one also in grey and one red. The other seated figure is an old man with white beard and hair, holding an ark. There are people observed inside the ark. The last figure on the other edge is a naked figure, wearing only a loin-cloth and carries a cross, walking away from the scene. Christ promised to the good thief to receive him in Paradise while on the Cross. The background is light ochre and decorated by trees in simple design and without perspective.
The Archangel is drawn on a dark blue background. The figure cannot be distinguished anymore. Only a mixture of ochre and the contour of the halo are visible. The wings are wide-open in the back and reach the level of the halo. Not many annotations can be made through observing the current state of this fresco. It is the worst surviving example of the Archangel Michael.
The bust of the Archangel Michael is painted on the north wall of the sanctuary. The fresco is again protected inside a red frame. He stands frontally holding his white sword beside his angelic face with curly, brown hair attached at the back of his neck. The colours of his armour and wings create an intense contrast with the dark blue monochromatic background. Above his silver shield he wears a red mantle with rich drapery. His wings include two layers of colours, orange and yellow, in the same colour of his halo. The two zones are not divided by horizontal lines, but try to imitate the effect of feathers.
On the intersection of the two arches in the west wall stands the Archangel Michael, armed with his sword. Although the church was built in the fourteenth century, the condition of this fresco, shows either a later addition or renovation. His orange, military tunic creates a contrast with the grey palette that the artist used in all bodily parts in this church. The tunic is short sleeved, leaving his arms exposed. It is the only time that his military tunic has geometrical designs in the area of the sternum. His eyes are wide open and his expression is severe, as is suitable for the leader of the army of angels. His wings are wide open and give him a supernatural dimension compared to the saints beside him.
This scene covers the second arch of the north wall. The figure on the left which has survived is the Archangel Michael with complex armour, consisting of many layers. He wears an ochre tunic with short sleeves which is held by a belt around the waist. Under the tunic there are hints of a brown robe. His sword can be recognised with difficulty in his right arm. The wings have been mixed with the background and parts of lime. The colour of his face is dark and does not make much contrast with his brown, curly hair that is tied carefully at the neck. There was also a figure on the right part of the fresco following the curved shape of the arch, probably the Archangel Gabriel, but it cannot be identified due to lack of inscriptions.
The bust of the Archangel Michael does not survive in a good condition. The white surface underneath indicates that the figure was initially painted in full. The style of painting is similar to the fresco of Aghios Nikolaos the North from the same century. The background, the face, and the military uniform are drawn in the same dark colours, a fact which does not aid the identification of details. The contours of the wings are not even visible. Only the position of the sword and the firm grip are clearly observed.
This figure is painted on the beginning of the curve of the barrel vault. The angel holds a book with decorative binding with both hands. His wings are wide open in blue colours and the artist tried to depict their feathers with thin black lines. The robe is loose, long and ochre with rich drapery. The angel is turned towards the altar in a three-quarter position. The painter chose grey to depict flesh, very similar to the colour palette in Aghios Nikolaos the North. The face has the characteristic shadows under the eyes and around the nose, but what is dominating is the thick eyebrow line.
The fresco is drawn on a triangular surface created by the intersection of two arches, but the artist created a square frame on the upper part. The Prophet is dressed in an ochre-orange robe wrapped around his waist, creating rich folds with black lines. A red mantle with furry ending falls loosely around his body. His hair and beard are grey with intense black lines separating the curls. With his left hand he holds a scroll with the inscription mentioned in the main text. His gaze is not focused on the raven but on the direction of the altar. The raven is small and is drawn inside a red oval in order to be distinguished from the dark background.
His posture is similar to the previous fresco, except for the scroll which is placed on the other side. The figure is placed on the intersection of two arches on the intermediary wall facing the direction of the nave of Aghia Kyriaki. He wears a long, loose ochre robe and a light blue mantle. However, this fresco does not survive in a good condition and the facial features have been destroyed. The background is divided into three zones; dark blue, orange, and purple. This combination is not frequently seen in the frescoes of Paliochora.
Fig. 226, *The Prophet Daniel*, Aghios Dionysios (1610)

Fig. 227, *The Prophet Jeremiah*, Aghios Dionysios (1610)

Fig. 228, *The Prophet Moses*, Aghios Dionysios (16th century)
This fresco shares the second arch on the north wall with Aghios Nikolaos and the Presentation of the Virgin. As it is on the edge, the artist did not wish to follow completely the curve of the arch, because he would have to paint the two Apostles in unequal heights and that would be theologically incorrect, so he placed them inside a frame. According to the standard iconography Saint Peter is placed on the left and Saint Paul on the right. They wear orange and purple chitons, respectively, which cover the whole length of their bodies. The drapery is created with thin, straight, black lines which divide garments into various folds. The model of the domed church occupies the central axis. The dominant elements are the arches on the front façade and the tiled dome. Generally the fresco does not survive in a good condition.
Fig. 230, Peter and Paul Holding the Church, Zoodochos Pege (17th century)

The two Apostles are dressed in identical manner but in different colours. They both wear a grey robe with rich, almost linear drapery. The robe has also some gold decoration. An ochre and purple chiton falls from the inside shoulder and comes around the waist, functioning as a belt. The Apostle Peter has grey hair as he is traditionally depicted, and short circular beard. Following the usual iconographic type, the Apostle Paul has a short brown beard and hair. The model of the church has a simple rectangular shape which symbolizes the Earth, covered by the dome which is heaven above. It is grey with an arched entrance in the middle and a large dome covered with red tiles. The background is divided into two zones; dark blue on top and orange underneath.
The scene represents the Evangelist John at the moment of writing the *Apocalypse*. This fresco is dominated by cold, unworldly hues of grey and brown. However, the three zones of the background remain faithful to the dark blue and yellow colours. While in the iconography of this scene Aghios Ioannis is commonly represented as an old man, here the saint is depicted as a young beardless man with brown hair reaching down at the back of his neck. He wears a draped dark blue *himation* and a brown *chiton* that falls from the left shoulder leaving the right exposed. He is seated on a stone rectangle with foliage sculptures on the sides, drawn in reverse perspective mode. His body is twisted to the direction of the main entrance, but his face is turned to the sanctuary. The face is pale and without any shadowed surfaces.

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12 For more details see pp. 230-231.
The four Evangelists are depicted on the arched surface above the main entrance of the church. The arch is separated into four long and narrow surfaces where the artist drew elongated and unnatural bodies. They are all frontal figures dressed with robes and chitons in different colours in order to create a more interesting result. The dominating colours are red, brown, grey and blue. The background of each smaller frame is separated into two zones. The lower part is painted in terracotta and the upper in blue. This technique is repeated in all the panels uniting the four figures. The two figures towards the south side are better preserved.
The gold throne occupies the centre of the fresco and is drawn with details, not only the decorative ornaments, but also the shadows and dark brown lines that reveal the true wooden substance of the material. Aghios Nikolaos is seated frontally wearing his ecclesiastical garments. The white *polystavrion* with black crosses covers the figure until the waist leaving the blue robe exposed underneath. His *omophorion* is decorated with a different pattern of crosses. With his left hand he is holding a scroll. His face is painted in rather dark tones and his features are not clear. He has short grey hair and a beard. The background of the scene is dark blue, as in the majority of the frescoes.
The two saints are drawn on a two-zoned background where the lower zone reaches the level of the neck; basically they are depicted on a yellow surface. They have identical frontal postures and hold small crosses. They wear purple and orange himatia with ochre and white mantles respectively. The himatia are separated in two parts through a belt, creating rich drapery accomplished with thin black lines. They both have brown curly hair and brown, incipient beards.
Although Aghioi Theodoroi are military saints, they are not presented as equestrians or with military vestments. Aghios Theodoros Stratilatis wears a dark blue robe, the same colour as the background, with gold belt, cuffs and collar, and a red mantle which falls from his right shoulder. He holds a thin cross diagonally with both hands. Aghios Theodoros Tiron wears almost similar garments, with the only exception the alteration of the colour of the robe, which is light blue. The background is divided into three zones; dark blue, green, and red. Both figures are depicted young, with short, brown hair and incipient brown beards.
The fresco of Aghios Georgios in the Koimesis of the Theotokos survives in a very bad condition. The theme can be identified only by some contours and the fact that all frescoes of him in Paliochora depict the same event. The only elements still recognisable are: a part of his red mantle, his halo, his raised arm which holds a spear and the ochre colours of his military tunic; all placed on a blue background.
Aghios Georgios occupies the middle space of the blind arch. He follows the ordinary depiction as a soldier on his horse, holding a spear ready to attack the dragon. Because the horse and his clothes have dark colours, they blend into the background and have faded out with the lime layers. The only element that is clear is his red mantle which waves back, and his round, yellow halo. There are frescoes in Paliochora which represent this theme in a better condition.
The horse is drawn in brown and is rising up on its hind legs. Aghios Georgios is young and beardless with brown hair. His expression shows determination and lack of fear. His short tunic is ochre – brown and is decorated with various gold panels and valuable stones. Under his military tunic he wears a light orange robe of short length. The style of depiction is similar to the style of the two neighbouring saints; Constantine and Helen. He holds his spear and he is ready to hurt the dragon underneath. However, his head is turned in the opposite direction; a unique element in all surviving frescoes showing this scene. The background is unified for all three figures on this blind arch.

Fig. 239, Aghios Georgios, Aghios Efthymios (14th century)
The fresco of Aghios Georgios is located on the south wall, covering almost the entire surface next to the auxiliary entrance. Aghios Georgios is represented in his characteristic pose on the horse at the moment he kills the dragon. The horse is drawn in profile, on its hind legs, facing the main arch of the sanctuary. The horse has a royal, white colour and is designed with delicate legs and powerful neck. The colours of the fresco have retained part of their original glow. On the blue background the red cloak creates a contrast. His chest is protected by brown armour with an ochre belt in the middle. In addition, he wears gauntlets with gold decoration. He holds the spear with his right hand and with the left he masters his horse. He leans a little forward and creates the impression that he wants to gain force to strike the beast.
Aghios Georgios’ fresco is paired to Aghios Demetrios’ in this church. The two military saints are placed almost across the entrance, creating the impression that they protect the sacred environment and its treasures. In contrast with the following fresco, he is a more angelic figure and expresses less intensity due to the choice of colours; white and light grey. He rides his white horse and his military tunic is barely discriminated from the background. The only colourful elements are the orange cloak and the reins. In addition, due to the light surfaces the red contours are visible. The saint is young and his brown hair is tied at the back of his neck. The dragon is, again, in the lower right corner but this time is white following the ambience of the fresco. The background is painted in light blue. The basic disadvantage is that due to the light colours time has left its mark and the whole impression is blurring.
Aghios Demetrios is depicted on his red horse at the moment he strikes the dragon. The scene is created in intense red and orange and the only contrast is created by the black square on the background and the multi-coloured military tunic. The tunic is blue but is covered by white protection for the chest and an orange belt. The drapery of his tunic is highlighted with straight, blue lines on the ochre background, a fact that does not create realistic movement. The clothes remain static compared to the active scene. His expression is calm and secure, without revealing any fear. The horse stands on its hind legs and the white dragon lies in the lower right corner struggling for its life. Its open jaws are turned threateningly towards the saint. The general impression from this fresco is its strong dynamism, created by the contrast among the three basic colours.
The fresco is destroyed and only the head of the saint survives. He is turned in a three-quarter pose, lifting his spear in order to pierce the dragon. Parts of the horse have survived as well, showing that the artist chose the same red colour seen in the previous fresco in Aghios Georgios Katholikos.
Aghios Ioannis Kalyvitis is a frontal figure and wears an orange robe and a red mantle with rich drapery. He is young and beardless with short, brown hair. He has short, brown hair and his skin is painted in dark tones, almost the same as his garments. The only bright element is the halo.
Aghios Antonios is dressed in his accustomed monastic habit. In this fresco the colours are quite vibrant and far from the dark hues that usually accompany his garments. His robe is light orange and his mantle red. His face is elongated and the use of shadows on the cheeks reveals an ascetic figure. On the scroll we read: ‘I no longer fear God, but I love him’. He is depicted as an old man with a short grey beard. The background is again divided into two zones; dark blue on top and grey underneath.
This time his image does not survive in full size. Aghios Antonios and the unknown saint next to him are identically designed. They wear grey monastic habits, which cannot be easily differentiated from the colour of their skin. The habits end in a hood and around their shoulders they have additional deep-red mantles. In this depiction his beard is much richer and is created through curly shapes. In this fresco Aghios Antonios does not hold a scroll. Above the image, on the narrow, circular surface of the arch, there is the same foliage that exists in all the arches of the church.
Aghios Alexios is one of the monastic saints depicted on the internal surface of one of the arches in the nave of the Cathedral. The background is divided into three zones; dark blue, green, and again dark blue. The saint stands frontally showing both of his palms. He wears a loose dark grey mantle, wrapped around his body, which is barely distinguished from the dark background. His face seems to have been destroyed and then repainted by a contemporary artist who drew his facial features in an unsuccessful way. Also the size of his chest is disproportionally larger than the rest of the body. His hair is long and messy, but the halo is in perfect shape. It is one of the scarce times that the full figure has survived.
Moses from Ethiopia is a unique figure in the church due to his body colour. It is the first time that a dark skinned saint is encountered. Unfortunately, only the upper part of the image exists. His face is created in a mixture of black and blue colours. The halo is clear and creates an intense contrast with his face and the black background. The artist drew in detail the curls of his hair and beard using white and dark grey lines. His mantle is red but ends in a yellow scarf around his neck.
The figure is placed on a two-zone background; dark blue on top and green underneath, while the inscription is very clear on the upper level. Aghios Savvas stands frontally and blesses with his right hand. He wears a light grey chiton with rich folds, covered by a deep red mantle with gold cuffs. Around his neck he has a scarf in the same colour as his robe. He is skinny with grey hair and long, grey, pointy beard divided into two points. The two curved lines on the top of his forehead show his age and the hardships of his life. His face is elongated due to his beard, but also looks thinner because of the two shadowed surfaces on his cheeks and under his eyes.
The two doctor saints are depicted frontally inside the same frame. They are two identical figures with brown, curly hair and incipient beard dressed in dark robes and red mantles. However the same hue of red is not used for both figures. They are placed on a monochromatic background, separated from the neighbouring frescoes by red lines. The only element that survives in an excellent condition is their haloes. The inscriptions next to their faces have faded out but they are still readable to some extent. Aghios Cosmas’ face is almost white-washed but that of Aghios Damianos still survives. Their features follow the Late Byzantine style with bright parts around the cheekbones and forehead.
Aghioi Cosmas and Damianos are painted on the arch above the main entrance. Aghios Cosmas is a three-quarter figure who wears a brown mantle with gold collar. The figure is narrow due to the available space and consequently the head and halo seem to be disproportionally larger than the body. He has short, brown hair and a beard. His right hand is raised with an open palm and with the left he holds a golden object. The depiction of Aghios Damianos is similar to Aghios Cosmas, except for the positioning of his hands, as he holds a golden object. Moreover, the proportions are more successful. The only difference is that both the robe and mantle are blue with some brown brushwork and the figure is turned to the opposite direction.
Aghios Cosmas is placed on the curved surface of the southeast arch. His posture belongs to a frontal figure but his head turns towards the sanctuary. He wears a light blue robe with gold belt, cuffs, and collar and a red mantle with gold stitching. The folds of the robe reveal that his left foot is a step forward. He is painted on a triple-zoned background, with dark blue, green and red, similar to other frescoes of the church. He has short, brown hair, and incipient beard.
Aghios Panteleimon is drawn on the internal surface of the arch of the south wall. He is extremely young with short brown hair. His head does not match the proportions of the body and seems supernaturally large. The fact that he leans forwards in association with his expression, shows shyness. He wears a light orange mantle above a light blue *chiton* and holds a gold box. The composition of the colours is quite bold and is not frequently encountered. The body faces towards the left but the head is turned in the opposite direction. There is also an inscription on the left side which is not readable.
Aghios Panteleimon is drawn on the surface created by the intersection of two arches on the intermediary wall. The background is divided unevenly into two monochromatic zones at the height of the neck; blue on top and orange underneath. His body is turned with direction towards the altar holding a gold, decorated open box which is drawn perfectly in reverse perspective mode. He wears a loose red mantle with gold panels on the cuffs and along the stitching. He is young with short, curly, brown hair. Although, the face is quite washed off, we can see that the colour of the skin is dark.
This large fresco decorates the wall opposite to the main entrance and depicts four young martyrs. Two of them have incipient, brown beards and two are beardless. They all wear white robes tied around the waist and mantles in different colours: brown, green, ochre, and orange with brown cuffs and collars. They all hold a small Latin cross in their right hands, while the other is raised palm frontwards. From some remaining parts around their feet, it seems that the background used to be ochre, but now the surface is covered with lime. Flesh is depicted in grey tones, as in all frescoes in this church, with extremely shadowed eyes and a characteristic shadow under the chin. The arch is decorated with the usual foliage encountered in many frescoes. This fresco is associated with the function of the church as a Martyrion in the fourteenth century. However, its style reveals a later renovation.
There is not much to be discussed regarding this figurative fresco as only the head has survived. Aghia Filothei is depicted under the canons for representing nuns. Her *maphorion* is dark and her face calm, almost emotionless. Her face is dark and the facial features are barely recognisable. The difference between bright and shadowed parts is not intense. Even if there is little remaining, the blue and yellow background is visible on the left side in between the lime plaster.
This fresco survives in a better condition than the one in Aghios Efthymios. Both figures are royally dressed with richly decorated garments with gold and ornaments. The figure of Aghia Eleni is similar to the depiction of Aghia Kyriaki in Aghios Georgios Prodromos. Both figures support the Cross from the back. Its shape is followed by an external contour made of white dots, imitating a sense of sparkling. The background is divided into three zones; dark blue, green, and brown.
In this fresco both Aghios Constantinos and Aghia Eleni support the wooden cross which functions as the main vertical axis of the composition. Both figures are dressed royally. Aghia Eleni wears a brown robe and an ochre *maphorion* decorated with valuable stones. In addition, gold panels decorate the cuffs, the collar and the edge of the *maphorion* which is held at the neck by an ornament. The royal image is completed by a gold crown. The clothes of her son are identically made but the colours are reversed. Both haloes are preserved in a very good state, adding extra glory to the scene. The faces are drawn in a dark brown hue which is not clearly differentiated for the clothes. The background is divided into the common two layers; blue above and yellow below.
On the templon of the south nave of Aghia Kyriaki the artist drew the patron saint next to the Virgin. Aghia Kyriaki is depicted on the last arch of the templon, but only the upper part of the figure exists and not in a good condition. Her posture and face reveal a three-quarter figure turning towards the opening of the Holy Door and the altar. Traditionally she is dressed in royal vestments which underline her origins. Her *maphorion* is purple and attached with a buckle at her neck. Underneath a small part of the grey robe is revealed.
The depiction of Aghia Kyriaki on the west wall of the Cathedral resembles the one from Aghios Ioannis Prodromos and shows that probably the two frescoes are contemporary (Fig. 266). She wears a light blue robe with gold belt and collar, covered by a red mantle with gold stitching. The white veil with small black lines is seen again only in that fresco in Aghios Ioannis Prodromos. She stands frontally with her left hand raised. Probably she holds a cross with her right hand, but unfortunately it has been whitewashed. The background is dark blue.
Aghia Marina is designed in a similar way to the Theotokos on the templon from the same church. Her face is covered with a yellow surface that is connected to the shadowed parts with an intermediate brown tone. She wears a red *maphorion* wrapped around her shoulders. Because her arms are lifted the *maphorion* creates a curved line in front of her waist clearly revealing her grey robe. With her right hand she holds a cross. The background has three zones, whose colours have faded out, and the bisector lines are located at the height of the shoulders and the waist. Her garments are accomplished by thin black lines and white surfaces for the robe and thicker black and white lines for the *maphorion*. 
The fresco of Aghia Paraskevi is placed next to the entrance, on the right side in the typical Orthodox placement. The figure is drawn in frontal position wearing a loose light blue robe, and over that her deep red maphorion. She holds a thin, gold cross with the right hand, while the left is raised with the palm in front. There is no deviation from the traditional depiction.
This fresco survives in a better state. Aghia Paraskevi is drawn in her characteristic deep-red monastic habit, which is folded around her in many layers, leaving only the lower part of the dark robe exposed. Rich drapery gives the impression that the maphorion is very long. The habit ends in a veil, covering her hair. The posture is the same as in the previous fresco. The figure is elongated and is almost the same height as the male martyrs next to her; only placed on a higher level. The style of vestment and facial expression is identical to the Virgin Orans on the conch of the apse (Fig. 114). Only in the frescoes of this church is the colour palette of the bodies so grayish, creating an unworldly result.
Aghia Paraskeve is drawn on the west wall as is accustomed for female figures; separated by Aghioi Constantinos and Eleni with a red line. This fresco is one of the best preserved of this particular saint. The saint wears a light blue robe with rich drapery, covered by a red *maphorion*. She holds a thin white cross with her right hand while the other is palm open in front. The figure is frontally positioned and the colour of the skin is fairly dark. However, brighter areas lighten the cheeks, forehead and neck. The background is divided into three zones; dark blue, green, and dark brown.
This fresco is shared between two female saints; Aghia Kyriaki and Aghia Paraskeve. The two figures are drawn on a black background separated by the classic red line. Aghia Kyriaki is a royal figure with a small crown on her head and gold decorative panels on her mantle. Above her mantle she wears a white veil which covers her hair. She holds a very thin white cross with her right hand. The second figure is turned in three-quarters position and holds a small cross. The position of her hand is unnatural. She wears a deep red-brown *maphorion*. Unfortunately, the lower part of the body of both figures has not survived but their faces are almost identical, painted in dark brown with small eyes, well-shaped curved eyebrows, long nose and small closed mouth.
Fig. 267, Aghia Anastasia Farmakolytria (She who delivers who from medicine), Aghios Dionysios (1610)

On the same wall with Aghia Paraskeve there is a fresco of Aghia Anastasia the Farmakolytria. She belongs to the category of female doctor saints and has a particular attribute to underline her status; a vase with a healing liquid. Her clothes are drawn in light colours, mainly light brown and grey and create a contrast with the dark blue background. The figure is turned three-quarters towards the altar.

Fig. 269, *The Beheading of John the Baptist*, Church of Saint John the Baptist (c.1300), Village of Deliana, Province of Kisamos, Prefecture of Chania (photo: A. Lymberopoulou, D. Papadopoulos, and V. Tsamakda)
Unidentified Figures and Scenes

Fig. 270, Taxiarchis Michael

Fig. 271, Aghios Nikolaos the North
Fig. 272, Taxiarchis Michael

Fig. 273, Aghios Nikolaos the North
Fig. 274, Aghios Ioannis Prodromos

Fig. 275, Aghios Dionysios
Fig. 280, Aghios Dionysios

Fig. 281, Aghios Dionysios

Fig. 282, Aghios Dionysios
Fig. 286, Aghioi Theodoroi

Fig. 287, Aghioi Theodoroi

Fig. 288, Aghioi Theodoroi

Fig. 289, Aghioi Theodoroi
Fig. 290, Aghioi Theodoroi

Fig. 291, Aghioi Theodoroi

Fig. 292, Aghia Kyriaki

Fig. 293, Aghia Kyriaki
Fig. 294, Zoodochos Pege

Fig. 295, Intermediary Wall – Aghia Kyriaki

Fig. 296, Aghia Kyriaki
Fig. 297, Zoodochos Pege
Fig. 298, Aghia Kyriaki
Fig. 299, Zoodochos Pege
Fig. 300, Aghia Kyriaki
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Tab. 10, Chart of Frescoes